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22 March 1982

East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 1990

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SLOVAK JOURNALIST DESCRIBES POST-MARTIAL-LAW POLAND

Bratislava NOVE SLOVO in Slovak 21 Jan 82 p 10

[Article by Pavol Minarik: "Restoration Concerns Everybody"]

[Text] Shortly after martial law had been imposed in Poland, I got off the Prague-Warsaw international express train at the main Warsaw railroad station. That first day and the next 17 days, which I spent in our northern neighbor country, were more than interesting. I witnessed a radical change in the life of the country, which was literally tossing about in a deep economic and social crisis. It would be more than naive now to assert that a turn for the better in this turbulent country will occur overnight. The process of socialist restoration will certainly be neither easy nor short; however, it has been evident from the first day that the Military Council for National Salvation vigorously resisted Solidarity's anarchy, chaos and demagoguery.

Most people in our northern neighbor country wish that the situation in people's Poland will return to normal as soon as possible. They really have had enough of the strike nonsense, which brought about only growing problems and difficulties. In the following lines, I will recollect the story of several days of my stay in Poland under martial law, declared by the Polish People's Republic [PLR] State Council on 13 December 1981.

The First Day--In Poland Again

Less than 4 weeks have passed since my last visit in Poland. I have hardly recovered from a certain impression of those days, when there are new impressions. And I must confess that for a person who went to Poland frequently during this past year, these new impressions are unusual. Warsaw, which used to "blossom" with the provocative slogans and posters of Solidarity, the independent trade unions, staring at people from each corner, pole, gate or any vacant space, is now getting rid of these "achievements of democracy." Hundreds of people armed with scrapers, brushes and soap water are cleaning postered surfaces. The copies of the Declaration of the PLR State Council, Military Council and Salvation Council have been put up only in appropriate spaces. I am getting acquainted with the conditions of martial law. There is a curfew and all strikes are banned. Telephone and telex communications have been cut, taking photographs is forbidden. The activity of trade unions and certain associations has been suspended, Solidarity's extremist leaders have been interned as well as many of the former party and country leaders

responsible for errors that have been made. Important factories and institutions have been brought under military control, streets are patrolled by soldiers of the Polish Army and the Public Security forces. Both domestic and international air traffic has been suspended. Okecie, the Warsaw airport, handles only special flights for foreigners who were caught in the country by martial law. The Forum Hotel, where I stay is almost empty, as are other hotels.

On the very first day, accredited reporters of RUDE PRAVO and Czechoslovak Radio and I attended a meeting with the PZPR Praga South secretary in Warsaw, Comrade Janusz Patorski. He informed us about the situation in his district, where most of the large factories are located. Comrade Patorski was in contact with all the party organizations and knew what was going on in any particular factory. He informed us that in some factories attempts to halt the manufacture and to strike against the declaration of martial law appeared. However, the majority of the staff in the factories realized the seriousness of the situation and did not give any support to these hazardous appeals. During the time of our visit, the Praga South Party Committee was very busy. People from factories and institutions kept coming in, offering their help to the party. A workers' formed guard, wearing the letters PLR on his sleeves, together with the armed forces, kept order.

We left the district committee and went to one of the VSK [presumably USK, transportation equipment factory] factories, which manufactures aircraft engines. We did not choose this factory by chance. Here the KOR [Social Self-Defense Committee] had a strong position some time ago. Jacek Kuron felt at home here, here he spoke to the workers during the general strike which took place at the end of November. Also, the situation in the party organization was complicated: only 20 percent of the party members were not also Solidarity members. We asked what the situation had been like immediately after the imposition of martial law. Comrade J. Sobis, PZPR factory committee chairman, told us: "People came to work in the morning, however, Solidarity attempted to organize a provocation, despite having been suspended and strikes having been banned. However, no provocation took place. We had control of the situation from the very start. The factory director talked to the organizers of the provocation and we talked to the secretaries of the manufacture guild party organizations. We left nothing to chance."

The Fifth Day--Provocation

This day had been selected by the Solidarity leadership for a demonstration against state power even before the imposition of martial law. It was supposed to be a kind of premonition of the last attack against the party and country leadership. It was to have been followed by open dismantling of socialism. The instructions discovered in Solidarity's central offices, particularly in the Mazowsze region, spoke clearly about forming some kind of revolutionary committees, diversive actions, terrorism and sabotage. The Solidarity intervention groups were waiting only for an order and the action would have begun. However, the extremists from "independent trade unions" miscalculated their position. In spite of this, those Solidarity leaders who had not been interned chose to continue to provoke. They distributed posters and leaflets calling for the strike to be held as planned. Solidarity's last instruction was: At five pm assemble in Victory square. A few minutes earlier, about 300 people, mostly youngsters, gathered in Warsaw's Krakow suburb (which is only a few meters from Warsaw University). At first, they were difficult to distinguish from people who were just walking home from work, however, suddenly a cluster of people formed

and the provocation began. It did not last long. Public Security forces dispersed the provocateurs without using force in the least. St Anna Church is only a few meters from there. No services were held at that time, however, shortly after the attempt at provocation, the church was packed with people. What was going on in this church only confirmed that the "House of God" had become a place where anti-socialist forces were coordinated. Having been dispersed, groups of extremists, who, hidden amidst the enraged crowd, had shouted insults at the Security forces calling for order, retreated to this church.

There one of Solidarity's communiques was read in public, urging people not to respect martial law, to fly country flags in protest and to light candles in apartment windows from 8 to 9 pm. On that evening, I saw one single candle shining in the entire apartment house block opposite the hotel. No other candles were to be seen in the hundreds of other homes.

During the evening hours, I learned from television that in other cities Solidarity's provocative actions did not end so quietly as in Warsaw. During a similar provocation in Gdansk, 160 officers of the Public Security forces were injured as well as 164 strikers who attacked the guardians of order. Similar events turned out to be tragic in the Wujek mine in the Katowice district; eight people lost their lives there. At the beginning, the Security forces peacefully appealed to the people to end the provocation; however, the people did not obey. What more, they attacked the Security officers and injured 30 of them. Then it was no longer possible to stop the bloodshed.

The Eleventh Day - Christmas

Despite the efforts of the Solidarity leaders who still were at large to instigate unrest, people remained quiet. Various provocative posters and leaflets urging interruption of bus traffic or wearing of black armbands to express a kind of "national mourning" appeared in Warsaw, however, they were largely ignored by the people. In some parts of the city, in Grochov for instance, the posterr declaring martial law had been crossed out with black paint or, in other places, torn off. In Marszalowska downtown, the declaration posters were written over with derogatory slogans insulting the Military Council for National Salvation.

The army and the Public Security forces were on alert even during the holidays. On Christmas Eve, when most Poles were sitting at the festive tables, I went to see soldiers at their guard posts. I was not the only one who came to visit a group on guard not far from the hotel. A Catholic priest was talking with an officer and about 10 soldiers. As I was approaching the group, he suddenly became silent. A few hours later, I learned that during the midnight services priests voiced an appeal from the Episcopate which sympathized with the martial law opponents. The Polish Catholic Church headed by Primate Glemp played on both sides. On one side, it blinded the Military Council with various promises, on the other side, it incited believers and other people against the council's measures. Despite all this, life in the country began to return to normal to a considerable extent. Criminality and disturbances decreased rapidly. The situation in food supply improved. After a long time, the state market was well supplied with most basic food: bread, milk and butter. Stores remained open even during evening hours. For instance, in large Warsaw department stores food was sold even outside food departments. Continuous aid from

socialist countries streamed to Poland even during the holidays; food and medications were being sent in particular. Nor were children forgotten; presents in the form of sweets, toys and warm clothing were received. The supply situation began to turn for the better also thanks to the fact that about one-fourth of the food factories worked continuously.

During Christmas holidays I visited in Wedel, a Warsaw chocolate factory. The production was running at the full rate. I talked to several people directly on the production line. Henryk Siejak, who had been working in this factory's division for caramel mixing for 40 years, expressed the belief that General Jaruzelski's Military Council would introduce order and discipline into the country as soon as possible. Eleonora Mirecka spoke critically about Solidarity leaders: "While they still worked in workshops, they earned as much as we did--4,000 to 5,000 zloty, but later they made 20,000 or more. However, they had forgotten us only too soon. And besides, they were not responsible for anything, they always only demanded something, without a slightest effort to also help with something." Stanislava Nalezekova, a member of "independent trade unions," had a different view. She asserted that Solidarity had done really a lot for the people: "They increased wages, granted free Saturdays, etc. If martial law had not been imposed, Solidarity would have dealt with the situation otherwise..."

The Seventeenth Day--The Last Day

Only a few hours was left before the end of 1981. Despite the situation coming evidently to normal, the enemy, who in some cases had dug himself underground, could not be underestimated: rumors had spread that he was threatening with sabotage and conspiracy. It was still possible to encounter violations of the restrictions following martial law. PLR prosecutors daily sentenced tens of people for organizing strikes and various antistate provocations and spreading false information in spite of all the bans.

On the last day of the old year it was disclosed that strikes had been organized or attempted in 199 factories and enterprises during the first days of martial law. These actions had been organized by Solidarity extremist leaders and counterrevolutionary elements from the so-called Conference of Independent Poland, KOR, etc., who felt at home in the "independent trade unions." Most extensive strikes took place in the Katowice, Gdansk, Sceczin, Warsaw, Wroclaw, Lublin and Gorzow Wielkopolski voivodships.

The army, the Security forces and administrative agencies could not relax their vigilance even on the last day of the year. Not only that, they had to declare open warfare to profiteering. Unfortunately, profiteering did not decrease even after the imposition of martial law. The Polish media of mass information and propaganda almost continuously brought information about profiteers and dishonest people who profited from the bad economic and political situation. The administrative agencies would have often been helpless without support from society. This also applies to other areas of life. Without support from the broadest strata of working people, a real improvement would come really too late, and this should never happen.

9814
CSO: 2400/125

VATICAN STRUGGLE AGAINST MARXISM, SOCIALISM EXAMINED

Sofia ZEMEDELSKO ZNAME in Bulgarian 17 Feb 82 pp 1, 2

[Article by Prof Deyan Pavlov, ZEMEDELSKO ZNAME's observer on ideological questions: "The Doctrine of Catholic Imperialism and Ideological Struggle--Ideology and Politics"; passages enclosed in slantlines printed in boldface]

> [Text] /During the era of the bourgeoisie's ascendance, its ideologues waged a bitter struggle against scholasticism as a weapon of outdated feudalism. But once transformed into a counterrevolutionary class, the bourgeoisie sought clericalism and scholasticism as its allies in the struggle against the working-class movement and Marxist theory. In V. I. Lenin's words, the monopolistic bourgeoisie, "out of fear of the proletariat that is growing and gaining in strength, supports everything that is behind the times, that is dying out and medieval." This applies with full force to Catholic imperialism as a weapon of anticommunism. To be sure, we do not equate believers and clericals. Clericalism is reactionary political speculation with belief. It is the counterrevolutionary "politicization" of religion and the "theologization" of politics in the interest of the conservative forces of the era.

Marxists respect believers and their convictions when they are not enlisted in political actions against the people. In this, we are guided by V. I. Lenin's recommendation that we must be extraordinarily cautious in combating religious prejudices; those who bring offense to religion into this struggle do great harm. We are not forgetting, however, that certain imperialistic forces in their mounting activity against detente and social progress are trying to use Catholic clericalism for their dubious purposes. It is an extremely powerful channel of ideological influence. The Jesuit order alone publishes 1320 periodicals in 50 languages, while Vatican radio has 800 radio stations. Catholic imperialism has a thousand years of experience in defending all exploitative socioeconomic formations in history.

/Tool of Three Exploitative Systems/

As is known, in the beginning Catholicism glorified the slave-owning system and created a "divine" nimbus around it. During feudal times the Catholic Church became a huge landowner and powerful bulwark of the feudal system. Catholicism had grown so tightly together with the feudal system that it defended it fiercely even when feudalism was obviously tottering. Pope Pius VI anathematized the French bourgeois revolution of 1789 and its leaders. He issued a special letter, "Adeo nota," in which he condemned the principles of the "Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizen." Even at a time when the Vatican was already adapting to the bourgeois era and itself gradually becoming a large-scale capitalist, Pope Pius IX issued the so-called "Syllabus" (1864), in which he anathematized not only socialism, but also "progress," "liberalism and modern civilization in general." This "Syllabus," which represents one of the darkest pages in the murky history of Catholic clericalism, has not been rescinded even to this day.

Finally, after the necessary "corrections" in its doctrine, Catholicism became a structural element of the capitalist system and one of its main spiritual and political mainstays. The Vatican has served as the tool of three exploitative social systems since it has always fallen in with the basic interests of the ruling classes, primarily by creating a halo around the rulers and inculcating in the oppressed people a spirit of resignation, of renunciation of "earthly happiness" for the sake of heavenly bliss, and by always apotheosizing wage slavery.

If we speak of Catholic social doctrine in particular, we must emphasize that it did not come into being until the 19th century. This happened at a time when the Vatican was no longer able to exert influence through direct religious homilies alone, as in previous centuries. In the middle of the past century there appeared on the historical horizon the staunchest revolutionary class--the proletariat, which initiated a struggle not for the replacement of one form of exploitation by another, but for genuine, complete and definitive social liberation. Under these conditions the bourgeoisie rapidly realized how useful the social demagogy of Catholicism, enriched by centuries-old experience, was to it. The "misunderstandings" between the bourgeoisie and the Vatican were at last settled and the alliance which continues to this day was established between the last exploitative class in history and Catholic clericalism in the struggle against the working-class movement, Marxism and socialism.

The social doctrine of the Catholic Church is a conglomerate of ideas, whereby a religious and neo-Thomist explanation is given to the most diverse problems in philosophy, sociology, political economy, law, ethics etc. The formation of this doctrine was preceded by the issuance of a number of papal encyclicals--"anathemas" of Marxism and communism--beginning as early as the 1840's. Thus, in 1846 Pope Pius IX issued the first anti-working-class encyclical, "Quam pluribus" [sic! actually "Qui pluribus"]. In it, communism is treated as a "pernicious plague," "barbarous sect" etc. It was precisely this encyclical Marx and Engels had in mind when in their deathless "Communist Manifesto" they pointed to the Roman pope as an active participant in the "holy gang" against communism. But the pope gave back as good as he got. At once on the appearance of Marx and Engels' "Communist Manifesto," Pius IX responded on 8 December 1849 with a new anticommunist encyclical, "Nostis et nobiscum."

Thus was inaugurated the profuse flow of papal encyclicals against communism which continued to pour forth for a full hundred years.

/The Number of "Anathemas" Grew in Proportion to the Success in t'e Propagation of Marxism/

and the creation of revolutionary proletarian parties.

After the Paris Commune, Pope Leo XIII issued the next anticommunist encyclical in the series, "Quod Apostolici muneris." But no "anathemas" were able to prevent the triumph of Marxism in the working-class movement. The bourgeoisie began to be more and more afraid of the heightening class struggle. Crafty Leo XIII realized that incantations did not suffice and took a new step. In 1879 in his encyclical, "Aeterni Patri" ("Eternal Homeland") [sic! actually "Aeterni Patris" ("Eternal Father")], he proclaimed the philosophy of Thomas Aquinas to be "golden wisdom" and the official Weltanschauung of the Catholic Church. By this act /a more flexible struggle against the revolutionary workers movement and Marxism was initiated/.

The creation of the Second International and the growing movement of the proletariat under the banner of scientific socialism showed the Vatican that it still did not have sufficiently effective weapons to combat Marxism, above all in social problems. This forced Leo XIII in 1891 to issue the first "social encyclical"--"Rerum novarum." It was this document that laid the foundations of neo-Thomist social doctrine. Its /Leitmotiv is the defense of the private ownership of the means of production, the justification of exploitation, and the denunciation of the class struggle, with wide use made of religious Thomastic dogmas/. "And thus we must, firstly, agree to the following thesis," the encyclical "Rerum novarum" says; "mankind must bear its burden without repining. Social inequality cannot be eliminated from the world. True, socialists attempt to do this, but every attempt, being directed against nature, is unavailing." At the same time, Leo XIII resorted to typical clerical social demagogy. In 1898 he addressed the workers in the following words: "You must keep peace in your souls, placing your trust in those Christian employers who look after your life with so much wisdom. . . Love your employers." Thus Leo XIII pitted the thesis of class "harmony" and reconciliation, of the "coordination" of the interests of capital and labor, against the Marxist doctrine of class struggle.

After the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution, when socialism for the first time began to be transformed into a living social reality and capitalism entered upon its general crisis, turning back and the attempt to halt social progress became the basic watchword of the imperialistic bourgeoisie, now frightened to death. In 1924 the book of the German neo-Thomist, W. Koenig, was published in Strassburg: "Back to Thomas Aquinas," that is, back a good seven centuries! This watchword took on ever greater significance in bourgeois philosophy. Neo-Thomist social doctrine was used more and more widely by the imperialistic bourgeoisie.

Under the conditions of the great economic depression of 1929-1931 the monopolistic bourgeoisie needed new weapons to combat the growing influence of communism and to bolster their badly shaken positions. It was at that time, exactly 40 years after publication of the encyclical, "Rerum novarum " that Pope Pius XI issued the second

"social encyclical" of Catholicism, "Quadragesimo anno" (1931). It hurled by-now

/Crude Anti-Soviet Invective/,

appealed for the overthrow of the proletarian dictatorship in Russia and lauded "class cooperation." The Catholic clerical establishment was aligning itself more and more closely with fascism.

The smashing of fascism under the decisive blows of the glorious Soviet army of liberation and the creation of the world socialist system heralded the beginning of the second stage of capitalism's general crisis. Bourgeois ideology weakened as never before. The Vatican occupied one of the first places in the anticommunist chorus during the "cold war." It vigorously continued to inundate world public opinion with maledictions. Whereas Pope Leo XIII issued about 20 anticommunist encyclicals and Pius XI about 30, Pope Pius XII already "fabricated" over 150 encyclicals against socialism and the workers movement.

In its anticommunist obsession the Vatican on 1 July 1949 issued a special decree forbidding believers any contact whatever not only with communists, whom it "excommunicated" from the church, but also with all democratic organizations and movements in which the staunchest champions of the working class, of the laboring people, participated.

By his support of NATO's aggressive policy and by his moral and theological "justification" of atomic war against the socialist countries, Pius XII earned the nickname of the "American pope." In his 1956 Christmas address Pius XII condemned any negotiations whatever between the capitalist and socialist countries regarding disputed international questions. "Why should we talk to one another though, when we have no common language, or how can we have a meeting since our paths lead us to different countries. . . and therefore any coexistence is actually impossible. Merely out of respect for the name of Christ, Christians must cease to adhere to this tactic, for, as the Apostle says, it is not meet to sit down at the same time at the Lord's table and at the table of his enemies," the "American pope" declared.

Clearly, Pius XII did not want to hear of peaceful coexistence between the socialist and capitalist states or of any negotiations whatsoever. A former adviser of the same pope, the well-known neo-Thomist G. Gundlach, declared in a speech to the Catholic Academy in Bavaria that, according to Pius XII, "Use of the atomic weapon would not be absolutely immoral." Gundlach added that "even the perishing of an entire nation as a mark of faithfulness to God" might be of "value." Unfortunately, to this day there are Catholic cardinals who approve of nuclear war, even though contrary to the new official policy adopted by the Vatican on this question. Cardinal Terence Cooke of New York declared in December 1981 that "the strategy of nuclear containment is morally acceptable, as well as" President Reagan's "limited nuclear war." Such utterances are a culmination of reactionary Catholic clericalism, completely in harmony with the actions of the ultraconservative forces of American and world imperialism headed by Reagan!

To be sure, such acts are no reason to forget that Pope John XXIII in the 1960's initiated the "adaptation" of Catholicism to the modern age and that he issued the first Vatican encyclical in defense of peace, "Pacem in terris" (1963). Ever since, the Roman popes, including the present John Paul II, have conducted

/Dialogue of Catholicism with Participants in the Revolutionary Workers Movement, with Marxists/.

Much has changed in the Vatican, and that in the direction of recognizing the main requirement of the age, namely, the necessity of preventing thermonuclear war and of guaranteeing peaceful coexistence between states with different social systems. The Vatican continues to normalize its relations with the socialist countries and to make a certain contribution to the solution of a number of present-day global problems. It was also represented at the All-European Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe in 1975 at Helsinki. In this regard the last quarter of our century, with its tremendous changes in favor of the forces of peace, democracy and social progress, has left its imprint as well on Vatican policy, which is not at all identical with that of Pius XII. But still, /Catholic clericalism remains one of the most active and persistent anti-Marxist and antisocialist forces in the huge battle in the international arena./ As the Czechoslovak newspaper NOVE SLOVO wrote (15 October 1981), "Under the conditions of the crisis through which Poland is going, the church's social ideology, its content and function, must be perceived as the arch rival of Marxism-Leninism. . . All of present-day Catholic doctrine is, to a certain degree, a kind of 'borrowing' of Marxist ideas, while the ordinary believer perceives them as the church's own." The Czechoslovak newspaper adds that "Church leaders do not conceive of socialism passively, but strive to modify it and to erode it especially in the sphere of superstructure. They endeavor, above all, to neutralize its world-outlook and ideological function." Indeed, as a result of events in Poland the social doctrine of the church has revealed its eclectic character, its attempt to promote some sort of 'updated Christian socialism" under Polish conditions. It is no accident that the program of the extremist circles of "Solidarity" always emphasizes that its foundation is "the values of Christian morality and nationalism." On 10 February 1982 the American author David Land attempted to suggest on Voice of America radio that the Catholic Church is the "guardian of the Polish national spirit" and that "the church evangelizes and gives direction to the human conscience," something which was bound to have the effect of a "strait jacket" for the defenders of the legal social system in fraternal Poland. On his visit to Poland in 1979 Pope John Paul II, under abstract slogans of the "spiritual unity of Christian Europe," leveled indirect attacks on dialectical and historical materialism, which is the philosophical foundation of the socialist society. He anathematized "totalitarian materialism" and spread the idea of so-called free access of other forces to mass-information media in Poland etc. Reuters Agency interpreted John Paul II's third social encyclical in a row, "On Human Labor" (September 1981), as "practical intervention by the church in social life" and as an "epistle to the Polish trade union Solidarity and to Eastern Europe."

All attempts to use religious beliefs for reactionary political purposes do harm to the "dialogue" under way between Catholics and Marxists and hinder efforts to guarantee the highest common good--peace, cooperation and the progress of humanity. On this question there can be no compromises!

6474
CSO: 2200/68

BENO ON 1982 MEETINGS OF BASIC ORGANIZATIONS

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 18 Jan 82 p 3

[Article by Mikulas Beno, CPCZ Central Committee secretary: "Important Meetings for Communists"]

[Text] In November of last year, the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium approved a resolution concerning the programatic focus and the politico-organizational assurance of the member meetings of the basic organizations of the party at the beginning of 1982. At present the preparations for these important discussions among communists are culminating in more than 46,000 basic organizations, encompassing basically every work site and location of our society. Meetings at the beginning of the year occupy an important place as a tested form of party work, as an important mobilization of forces and activities for communists in all sectors for the assurance of tasks in the new year.

The year 1982 has some special features. It is the second year of the Seventh Five-Year Plan, a year tied into the 16th Congress, general elections and the 60th anniversary of the founding of our party. At its very beginning, it is clear that this will not be an easy period. We will be carrying on a struggle throughout the year for the further implementation of the conclusions of the 16th Congress. Matters in all aspects of social development, but especially in the economic area, will be much more complex and difficult. The tasks outlined by the congress and then formulated in the 1982 plan by the Central Committee and the CSSR Government are oriented toward the mastery of ambitious, very rigorous requirements in the growth of efficiency, conservation, and overall management through the utilization of all resources.

For technical-managerial, administrative activity, as well as for politico-organizational, educational work and the development of initiative in all sectors, it is particularly important to base actions on the characteristic features of the replacement process. This means, above all, that the national economic plan projects a continuation of dynamic economic development and an increase in asset formation both for the development of production and for the life of the society, given lower growth rates and under very rigorous conditions--for practical purposes without an increase in material, raw material, and fuel and energy inputs.

The feasibility of these rigorously established tasks is based on the unused potential inherent in an increased valuation of all funds, under the conditions of a more substantial improvement in planned management, the utilization of the influence of economic instruments and the development of the immense force of the subjective factor--of the man in the managerial and labor spheres of production.

A plan of economic and social development conceived in this way is very demanding on the whole process of its implementation. For this reason, we will not be content solely with traditional approaches to its assurance. The individual effects of all factors, and their full development, place especially high demands on the multilateral application of the leading role of the party, its controlling, organizational and educational influence, and on close links with the working people.

The strategic task which has been outlined, the achievement of a substantial turnaround in the intensive development of the economy, its efficiency and the quality of all labor, has universal validity. Every basic organization and the sector in which it operates influences to a certain extent the replacement, formation and efficient utilization of the use values of society. This applies to all sectors, all areas of society, all levels of management, the entire political system. It encompasses the areas of production and consumption, and all types of social activities. In this way, considerable latitude is created for the developed functioning of the party and the entire political system. This creates the need to unite and the possibility for uniting, concretely literally every communist and every citizen in the achievement of this strategic objective.

The character, extent, urgency and difficulty of the tasks which lie before us in 1982 also determine the requirements for the corresponding approach of party organizations to their assurance. Societywide tasks have a concrete manifestation, a material form, at every work site and in the activities of every basic organization. This is the basis of the resolution concerning the content of the member meetings, in which the Central Committee has oriented the entire party and society to the key issues which must receive increased attention in the interest of a more rapid realization of the strategic conclusions of the 16th Congress. Emphasis is placed on the necessity for introducing at all levels a principled course of action for the realization of party policy, an atmosphere of critical rigorousness and implacability toward shortcomings and toward the inconsistent, often lackadaisical resolution of problems. This creates a natural requirement for the achievement of a significant turnaround in the sophistication of managerial work at all levels and in all sectors, the further intensification of the leading role of the party and its controlling activity, a strengthening of the entire system of controls in all its aspects, the development of ideological and educational work, and the constant fortifying of the links between the party and the workers.

The fulfillment of the established tasks is conditioned by an across-the-board increase in demands on the commitment of party organs and organizations, on the creative activity, initiative, and combativeness of communists in the implementation of the strategic line of the party in all sectors, throughout the entire society. A further intensification in the leading role of the party is closely tied to a strengthening of the ideological, political and operational unity of the party and the moral and political unity of our people, on the basis of a profound understanding of the domestic and foreign policies of the party in the overall struggle for their realization.

The member meetings of the basic organizations at the beginning of the year, as is evident from the conclusions and resolutions of the third, fourth and fifth CPCZ Central Committee plenums, are entrusted with a very demanding mission; the critical evaluation of their role in the fulfillment of the program of the 16th CPCZ Congress, and the outlining of the main tasks for the basic organizations for 1982. The

outcome of the preparations and the discussions themselves are to be concrete measures, directives and paths for approaching the assurance of the principal 1982 tasks. The requirement for a specific, concrete resolution is intended to create a good foundation for the development of effective politico-organizational, ideological-educational, and mass political work. It also will serve to evaluate the overall view, and to identify the questions with which the basic organization committee and the member meeting will gradually concern themselves. The most important tasks must be integrated into the plan of the party organization, and the responsibility for their fulfillment allocated to communists working in the managerial sphere, on national committees and in professional, youth and other social organizations.

Member meetings of basic organizations will now concern themselves, above all, with fundamental tasks which fall to them on the basis of congress conclusions and other party resolutions concerning their area of activity. From this, it is clear that there is a need to devote particular attention to the preparation of the content of the member meetings to formulate high-quality bases for the discussions. At times, we refer to these meetings concisely as "accounting sessions," which is not a completely accurate description of the content. Even though it is not strictly a matter of accounting, the evaluative part of the meeting, in which the work of the past period is analyzed and lessons are drawn from the successes and failures, has an important function. Without a high-quality, critical and rigorous view of the existing state of affairs, there is a danger that we will approach current tasks in a formal, generalized way, with tried and true techniques, and that we can still allow ourselves to make past mistakes and indulge in past shortcomings, which reduced the efficiency of party work and weakened the impact of its results.

The efficient control and verification of tasks is a continuously valid, Leninist aspect of a party-oriented work style. In the requisite thoroughness, then, it cannot be absent, especially at a time when the work of one period is being wound up and that tasks for the next period are being outlined. Control, conducted in a spirit of constructive criticism, guarantees a unity of word and action, assists in eliminating boastfulness and fuzzy thinking in an approach to problem solving and the assurance of established tasks, and prevents inflexibility, a bureaucratic attitude and irresponsibility. It assists in understanding the basis of the causes of phenomena and in better indentifying paths to solutions. In this sense, control and verification of task fulfillment emerges not as a one-time, exceptional measure, but as an ongoing, necessary process in the development and intensification of managerial activity. For this reason, we take steps so that it is firmly rooted in the working style of the party-oriented membership at all levels, beginning with the CPCZ basic organizations, that controlling means to assist, improve, educate and correct.

A critical attitude toward previous activity has multifaceted significance. This lies, among other matters, in the fact that this attitude makes possible intensifying, supplementing, or simply adopting, as a component in the formation of the working attitude of party organizations for 1982, measures and resolutions which proved effective earlier and which are valid for the current period as well. We know from practice the importance of utilizing that most important criterion of the effectiveness of our work, actually achieved results, for our own self-inspection. It is well known that in some organizations it was precisely the inadequate monitoring of previous resolutions, decisions, measures, etc. that laid the basis for a formalistic attitude, superficiality, and led on more than one occasion to passivity. A committee

or a member meeting, precisely because of inadequate material controls on the fulfillment of previous measures, thus adopts new resolutions on the same issues, resolutions which are usually again too vague, not sufficiently binding and therefore fated in advance to the fate of the previous resolution.

An approach to the formulation of new tasks, the next measures, and a procedure based on the informal, critical evaluation of the work of the most recent period has great significance precisely from the viewpoint of the conscientious focusing of future activity in such a way that this activity is linked from the very beginning in a critical, creative manner with the period just passed. This means that future activity would be free of previous mistakes and shortcomings, that it would utilize and further develop all positive aspects which had been tested and proven, and that it would search comprehensively for an answer as to how best to approach the solution of those tasks which lie before us.

A member meeting may fulfill its mission only in the event that the main directions of further development of the internal life of the party, and the development of politico-economic, politico-organizational and ideological-educational activity are linked to the implementation of the critical working tasks which stand before the work collective in which the party organization is active. The formulation of economic plans for this year was accompanied by considerable difficulties. Nor will the fulfillment of these plans be without troubles. Party organs and organizations have evolved widespread politico-organizational activity in support of an active approach to the plan for 1982, and for the entire Seventh Five-Year Plan. We are well aware that the engagement of workers in the plan formulation process, in the search for ways to intensify production, has met with varying levels of success. The unjustified anticipation in some instances of a so-called comprehensive plan demonstrates a failure to comprehend the first-order requirement for a commitment by communists to party policy, especially in its decisive politico-economic area. Numerous party organizations serve as examples of how it is possible and essential to develop a counterplanning approach to broken-down plan targets, to search for unused capacities and possibilities for improved valuation of raw materials and other funds, to produce greater use values with higher technical parameters and with fewer inputs.

As certain findings of territorial party organs indicate, only one-fifth or one-fourth of the factories and enterprises have actually applied the techniques of the counterplanning assurance of established tasks. There are numerous factories where the comprehensive development of work according to this year's plan was not undertaken in time, nor was it discussed and provided for informally with an active approach by committees with broad party and managerial participation. Findings from current preparations and plan assurance for this year are signaling that the member meetings will have to deal with this kind of approach critically and in an uncompromising manner, and that they will mainly have to reach effective conclusions as to how to overcome this serious shortcoming, and how to achieve a fundamental turnaround in a party-oriented approach to the struggle for the comprehensive, most effective possible assurance of the fulfillment of planned tasks throughout the entire year.

A more profound analysis of the implementation of the leading role of the party in the politicoeconomic area at the member meetings must touch upon both the evaluation of the outcomes and approaches to the resolution of technical-production, economic, and social issues, as well as the development of an appropriate working style,

standards and methods, and instruments by which a party organization may assure its avant-garde mission. Personnel work, in its broadest sense, belongs among the basic instruments for the implementation of politicoeconomic objectives. This includes a concern for people and their education, as well as their engagement in the solution of problems and, clearly, the most effective possible placement of communists in critical sectors.

The influence of a basic organization on the solution to a specific problem is often conditioned precisely by actual, daily work with the communists in this sector and, with ther assistance, with entire work collectives. Much depends upon the success with which a committee interacts and makes use of professional and youth collectives, as well as the broader community of experts. Practice has made clear how much creative strength is represented by the participation of the broadest possible combination of communists and nonparty members in the search for a solution to problems and in the formulation of resolutions and measures.

This will also be the viewpoint from which party organization will approach preparations for public party meetings, which will become the platform for the acquaintance of work collectives with the measures adopted by the member meetings, for a common search for the most effective ways for resolving tasks related to plan assurance, and by the supplementing of the plan with the suggestions and experiences of workers. In this regard, it is also necessary to implement that important instrument for the realization of party resolutions--the entrusting of concrete, verifiable tasks to communists.

Even though we are speaking primarily about politicoeconomic tasks, this does not weaken the importance of tasks in other areas of our life. Achieving economic development targets is unthinkable without the development of the political instruments for actual work with people, organizational and educational activities. The resolution of the presidium of the party Central Committee emphasizes, in this connection, the necessity for party organizations to orient their efforts toward the clarification of all aspects of the domestic and foreign policy of the party and the complexity of the new conditions, toward the continual fortification of the trust of the workers in the party's policies, and toward active participation in their practical implementation. Party organizations are to develop the daily, aggressive political activities of communists within work collectives and openly to explain current problems to people so that they understand the purpose and objectives of the party line.

In connection with the convening of the member meetings at the beginning of this year, it must be pointed out how important it is to approach daily tasks from a political viewpoint and to view them in their wider connections, from the viewpoint of given conditions, in relation to prior and future development, but also with a recognition of the international political processes in the world. The historical advantages of real socialism, its creative force and revolutionary perspective, the unity of the socialist community under the leadership of the Soviet Union, constitute the critical conditions of our peaceful life, and their multilateral intensifications is an inseparable part of the building of socialism.

As is the case elsewhere, the achievement of positive results is dependent on the good work of individuals, on good organizational and managerial efforts. This is also true of the preparation and conduct of the member meetings. This is especially

so because the assurance of these meetings rests above all with committees of the basic organizations and their chairmen. The CPCZ Central Committee recognizes this when it orients its divisions, as well as kraj and okres committees, above all to the provision of effective assistance directly to basic organizations. The fact that the membership of the committees of these organizations represents an experienced, politically and professionally mature, elected group numbering 300,000 strong is a good precondition for a substantial increase in the sophistication of the work performed by basic organizations. This, however, does not exclude the requirement for organizing differentiated, concrete, effective assistance for basic organizations by supervisory organs, above all by okres committees, and by all-factory and enterprise party committees within the large party organizations. From them is required a knowledge of the work of appropriate basic organizations and of entire sectors within the range of their competence. Participation in the preparation for member meetings makes possible the application of findings of supervisory organs, the deeper involvement of nomenklatura personnel and the utilization of the generalized experiences of other organizations.

We know from experience that member meetings,with all their accoutrements, may be organized on a formalistically high level. We are not, of course, against party meeting "savvy"; quite the contrary, we strive for it. In the first place, however, must be the content, the political quality, the efficiency, the action-taking strength of a party meeting, the committed participation of members and candidates. All of these requisites, as is well known, are provided for in the entire course of preparations, in the enlistment of a broad group of participants and party groups, in the utilization of the remarks and suggestions of work collectives. The committee report, measures which are proposed and the discussion should openly react to actual issues of life and work in whatever sector, identify the basis of the problems as well as solutions to them and ways by which communists wish to resolve the submitted problems. These matters are discussed better than they are addressed in practice. The multifaceted, often very detailed, "ant" work which goes into the composition of the conclusions of a committee and the proposed measures, is not however immediately evident. The quality of the member meeting, the resolutions which are adopted and, then, the work itself and the results which are achieved all depend on it.

Quality preparations for a member meeting are necessary, above all, so that after its conclusion it may be justifiably stated that the meeting was good, up to standard, that it reacted concretely to the main, decisive questions, pointed to clear directions for the development of party work, that it set tasks specifically and concretely. Only in this way will this important meeting of communists effectively comprehend the directives and goals established by the 16th Party Congress and further resolutions of the Central Committee. Only in this way will we build upon the fourth and fifth plenums of the CPCZ Central Committee with first-class responsibilities of communists, place ourselves at the head of efforts by work collectives, win over workers to the fulfillment of tasks and become initiators and pioneers of progressive forms of work.

9276
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PASSPORT, EXIT PERMIT, FOREIGN CURRENCY REGULATIONS DISCUSSED

Bratislava SMENA in Slovak 6 Feb 82 p 3

[In today's "Frequencian Column," reader's questions sent to us in writing or telephoned to the editor's office will be answered by Doctor of Laws, Capt Miroslav Slaby, Deputy of the National Security Corps (ZNB) Passport and Visa Department for Bratislava, the SSR capital, and the West Slovakia KRS, and Jozef Misovic, Head of the Exchange Division of the Czechoslovak State Bank (SBCS), the Main Headquarters for the SSR]

[Excerpts] [Question] I hear that the revenue stamp fees for passports have been changed. What are the fees to be paid now?

[Answer] Yes. The administrative charges have been changed as of 1 January 1982. In applying for a passport it is necessary to have a revenue stamp worth Kcs 50 and a stamp of the equal value is necessary in submitting the application for the exit permit. However, in other cases no changes have been made, that is, a stamp worth Kcs 10 is still necessary for the application for the traveler's supplement to the citizen's identification card and for the application to extend the passport's validity. A Kcs 5 stamp is also sufficient for adding a child to the passport or a change of address. The same charges hold in applying for separate travel documents for children.

[Question] How about passports for Yugoslavia? Especially for those people who were there last year on vacations or for those who have never been to that country but still possess a valid passport?

[Answer] Since 1 January 1982, new passports have been issued for Yugoslavia, distinguished by a different color--they are gray--and these passports are valid only for travel to and stay in Yugoslavia. Anyone who wishes to visit Yugoslavia this year needs this passport and an exit permit. Equipped with these two documents, he may travel through all socialist countries. If one wishes to go through nonsocialist countries, he will use the present green passport together with the corresponding exit permit. The green passports used by those who were in Yugoslavia last year and had them marked at the border were invalidated 31 January 1982. These passports must not be used as travel documents any longer and citizens must return them to appropriate divisions of the Passport and Visa Administration. Those whose passports

have not been marked expired can still use these passports for trips to nonsocialist countries, for trips to Yugoslavia in conjunction with visits to nonsocialist countries and for trips to all socialist countries.

[Question] How will we travel to Hungary this year?

[Answer] Trips to Hungary have not been restricted. For these trips, it is necessary only to follow the instructions issued by the SBCS.

[Question] How is the Public Security (VB) Passports and Visa Department prepared to cope with the great interest in travel during summer months and to provide all the people with documents?

[Answer] I would like to make use of this opportunity and ask our citizens not to put off the clearing of the documents till the last moment; in this way they will help themselves and our staff. It is necessary to start with this immediately after they have received the foreign-currency exchange guarantee or after they have bought a tour from a travel agency office. For instance, citizens can apply for a passport extension as early as 6 months before the date the passport is due to expire. It happens very often that a passport holder discovers this fact too late and then unnecessary anxiety results. The exit permit is also valid from 3 to 6 months.

[Question] What documents are required with a passport application?

[Answer] An applicant over 15 years of age must have:

--an accurately filled out application form for the Czechoslovak passport (with all spaces properly completed and written in full);
--two photographs on soft paper with a neutral background;
--his own citizen's identification card or the personal identification card of a professional soldier;
--a Kcs 50 revenue stamp.

An applicant under 15 must also have a completed passport application, however, this must without exception be submitted by a parent or the guardian; further, he needs his parent's citizen's identification card, two photographs, a Kcs 50 revenue stamp and written permission of one of the parents or the guardian, verified by the local national committee or the Passport and Visa Division where the application is being submitted. For persons with limited competence in legal procedures or who have been determined to be legally incompetent, the written approval of their custodian, verified by the National Committee, is also required.

[Question] Will supplements to citizen's identification cards continue to exist? For which countries? What do we need to obtain them?

[Answer] These are traveler's supplements to citizen's identification cards for trips to socialist countries and are valid 3 years. To obtain them, it is necessary to submit a valid citizen's identification card and a Kcs 10

revenue stamp. Traveler's supplements are also issued for children under 15 years of age, for which the parent must also submit a photograph of the child for attachment to the supplement and one of the parents' citizen's identification card.

[Question] How long is it supposed to take for the Passport and Visa Department to process a passport and the exit permit?

[Answer] Processing applications for travel documents is performed under the law on correct processing, which allows 30 days for processing applications or 60 days in complicated cases. This applies to both passports and exit permits.

[Question] At what age must a child have a passport of his/her own?

[Answer] If a child travels abroad unaccompanied by a parent, he/she must have a travel document of his/her own in the form of passport, the supplement to the citizen's identification card with the child's photograph on the exit permit. A child under 15 years of age can be added in a parent's passport; however, beyond this age a personal travel document is required.

[Question] At what age may a child travel abroad alone?

[Answer] Whenever the parents give their permission for the trip or put him/her in care of another person and, of course, when all the passport and visa formalities have been met--there are no other limitations.

[Question] For family reasons, I want to move to a European nonsocialist country. How shall I proceed?

[Answer] You must ask for the information at the appropriate Passport and Visa Office for your permanent address. They will provide all necessary information and also the application forms for emigration.

[Question] Is it true that passports to nonsocialist countries will be deposited at appropriate VB offices?

[Answer] The Passport and Visa Office will receive valid, i.e., green passports to be deposited in those cases where a citizen is being issued his travel documents for a trip to Yugoslavia. In other cases travel documents will not be deposited. Essentially, in this case we only apply the principle that a citizen is supposed to have only a single travel document entitling him to travel abroad.

[Question] I have had my passport for 5 years and it has been extended till 1984. Can I use it for traveling abroad or must I have the so-called 3-year supplement to the citizen's identification card, which was introduced some time ago? What is required for this supplement?

[Answer] If your passport is valid till 1984, it can be used for traveling to both socialist and nonsocialist countries with the exception of

Yugoslavia. Therefore, you do not need any supplement to your citizen's identification card.

[Question] How old must a CSSR citizen be to be permitted to travel privately to nonsocialist countries?

[Answer] No age limit has been determined. As long as the person meets all the requirements for the issue of a passport and gets it, he or she can travel.

[Question] For how many years after finishing basic military service am I prohibited from traveling to nonsocialist countries?

[Answer] There is a general rule that for traveling to nonsocialist countries a citizen must have the approval of his appropriate Military Directorate.

[Question] What documents are required for an exit permit?

[Answer] A valid passport is required; if a citizen does not have one, he should submit an application for a passport together with an application for the exit permit. For trips to nonsocialist countries, it is necessary to submit an affidavit of no criminal record; this is not required for trips to Yugoslavia. Further, you must have an appropriate document on sufficient funds in foreign currency to cover your trip, a foreign-currency guarantee from the SBCS, in other cases, a verified invitation from a relative living abroad (parents, brother, sister, child or a grandparent) or an acknowledgement from an appropriate travel agency which organizes the tour. You also need an opinion of the head of the organization where you are employed. If the citizen is a student, he needs the approval of the school principal or an academic functionary from his college. Further, everybody must submit a personal document verifying the applicant's identity, i.e., a citizen's identification card or a professional soldier's identification card and the approval of your military headquarters. If an applicant is neither employed nor in the military or other service, for instance, housewives, pensioners or freelance professionals, an approval from the appropriate local National Committee is required.

Foreign Currency

[Question] How does one apply for a foreign-currency guarantee?

[Answer] This year, application forms can be received from all SBCS branches from 15 January to 26 February. All the spaces of the application form must be filled out accurately. I wish to emphasize that especially the space entitled "Year of Your Last Trip Abroad" must be filled out accurately and truthfully; it is necessary to state your last private or individual trip to nonsocialist countries, i.e., even trips organized through a travel agency, trade union recreation trips and tours as well as all trips made abroad for the purposes of medical treatment and the like. The application must be approved by the employer; pensioners and housewives will have their

applications approved by a local National Committee, students by their schools. A duly filled out application form must be submitted before 26 February 1982 at the SBCS county branches or, in Bratislava, at the filing office--the address is 20 Leningradska St--or it can be sent in by mail.

[Question] How will forints be allotted this year for private trips to Hungary?

[Answer] The purchase of forints for private trips to Hungary has been stopped except for during the tourist season. We expect that forints will be available at the SBCS branches from 15 June to 31 August 1982. From the total amount of forints agreed upon by the Hungarian National Bank and the SBCS, we primarily must provide pocket money for tours organized by travel agencies and for business and official travel of our citizens.

[Question] Why and how long will travel to Hungary be restricted, while Hungarian citizens can travel to Czechoslovakia without any restrictions?

[Answer] Last year some of our citizens traveled to Hungary despite the fact that they had not been supplied with forints by the SBCS. Many of them took advantage of the situation and changed more Czechoslovak crowns than is permitted by the Czechoslovak Foreign-Currency Exchange Law; consequently, the Hungarian National Bank has a sufficient amount of Czechoslovak crowns to supply their citizens for trips to our country. Just as a matter of interest, I would like to add that the forint appropriation from the Hungarian National Bank has been the same during the last 4 years. As for the second part of the question--Czechoslovakia and the Hungarian People's Republic are preparing an agreement which will regulate even visits of relatives. Details will be known only after the agreement has been signed.

[Question] I am planning a trip as a tourist to Sweden for this summer. I would like to know the following: What is the exchange rate of the dollar and the Czechoslovak crown? What rate of tax is paid? How many dollars are granted for a 1-day stay?

[Answer] In February this year, the tourist rate for dollars is Kcs 23.82. The SBCS provides $15-18 per day, with a maximum of $360.00 for the entire stay.

[Question] Can I get a foreign-currency guarantee without approval from my school?

[Answer] Not for a trip to nonsocialist countries. A signed approval is necessary for such trips. We do not require an approval for trips to Yugoslavia.

[Question] As far as private trips to nonsocialist countries are concerned, will a citizen get only dollars or also the currency of the particular country where the citizen wishes to travel?

[Answer] There is a principle that a Czechoslovak citizen receives the currency of the country to which he will travel. If the currency of a particular country is not included in the SBCS official rate list, we will provide the citizen with the most convenient substitute.

[Question] Do you think you will be able to satisfy all applicants for foreign currency?

[Answer] Last year in the SSR the funds allocated to us satisfied 27 percent of all applicants for the foreign-currency guarantee for nonsocialist countries. The percentage of applicants satisfied in respect to the foreign-currency guarantee depends on the number of citizens applying for this document.

[Question] Is the regulation which prohibited a person from receiving a foreign-currency guarantee more frequently than every 5 years still in effect?

[Answer] In distributing foreign currency, the SBCS follows commercial and political principles approved by the Czechoslovak government on 8 November 1979.

This means that applicants who have not yet traveled privately to nonsocialist countries will be given priority in getting the foreign-currency guarantee. The 3-5 year restriction which previously was in effect does not apply any longer.

9814
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UNITED PEASANT PARTY SEEKS GREATER POLITICAL ROLE

Warsaw WIES WSPOLCZESNA in Polish No 8, Aug 81 pp 8-51

[Text] On 11 July of this year, a discussion was held at the editorial office of WIES WSPOLCZESNA devoted to the place of the Party [ZSL] in contemporary political life.

The discussion participants were (in the order of their appearance): Dr Tadeusz Kisielewski (ZIELONY SZTANDAR), Dr Eugenia Jagiello-Lysiowa (IRWiR PAN [Institute for development of Rural Areas and Agriculture, Polish Academy of Sciences]), Docent Dr Habilitatus Wladyslaw Szymanski (SGPiS [Main School of Planning and Statistics]), Docent Dr Habilitatus Jan Gorecki (SGGW-AR [Central School of Agriculture-Workers' Press Agency]), Editor Tadeusz Marczak (ZIELONY SZTANDAR), Docent Dr Habilitatus Marek Ignar (IRWiR PAN), Prof Dr Tadeusz Barszczak (SGGW-AR), Prof Dr Zygmunt Hemmerling (ZHRL [Institute for History of the Peasant Movement]), Docent Dr Habilitatus Stanislaw Grabowski (SGPiS and WIES WSPOLCZESNA), Dr Zenon Mikolajczyk, Czeslaw Kozak (chairman of WKZSL [Volvodship Committee, United Peasant Party] in Kielce), Dr Izydor Adamski (secretary of NKZSL [United Peasant Party Chief Committee]), Dr Witold Lipski (WIES WSPOLCZESNA). The discussion was opened by Dr Stanislaw Winiarczyk and led by Dr Witold Lipski.

Stanislaw Winiarczyk

The topic of our discussion, "The Place of ZSL [United Peasant Party] in the System of Political Forces in Poland" is dominant and at the same time broad We would like to concentrate on several groups of the most important matters. One of them is the place of ZSL in the party system. Also of importance are program issues and ideological matters. In connection with the fact that, currently, there is work being done in the Peasant Party on an ideological declaration and a program of action, certain problems should be discussed, with the attitude of ZSL towards other social organizations at the head of the list. What we have in mind here is, above all, the attitude towards "Rural Solidarity" and the ZMW [Rural Youth Union].

As far as the first group of issues is concerned, the acceptance of general principles in regard to the place and role of ZSL in the party system is that which defines its functions in the State and above all, in relations with the Party [PZPR]. This raises the question, whether the adopted principles and political practice do not limit the capacity for the development of the organizational multiparty system? Are all its functions being utilized at the present stage of development of political and social relations? In the Declaration of Cooperation, it is stressed that PZPR plays a leading role in society together with the participation of ZSL and SD [Democratic Party]. It is further stated that a vital element of the leading role is allowing for the possibility of the occurrence of differences of opinion and positions between the PZPR and its allies in regard to the methods and means of building socialism as well as methods of influencing socio-political life. This formula goes further than the previously binding formulations regarding cooperation. Therefore, in practice, what does the carrying out of the leading role together with the participation of ZSL and SD mean? On what is the partnership role of ZSL based in inter-party relations? What do such concepts as the equal rights and equally important relationship of ZSL to PZPR signify in practice?

The ZSL has been described up to now as a regional party. In this spirit, a statute was formulated which outlined rather clearly, the recruitment base of members, confining it to people connected with rural areas and agriculture and not to those who accept the Peasant Party program. This, of course, led to the limiting of its membership base and indirectly to program unilateralism. The Eighth Congress unlocked these restraints and took a stand in favor of the open character of ZSL for all those who recognize its program as well as in favor of moving beyond traditional circles of political interest of ZSL, rigidly outlined and which limit activity of the Peasant Party to rural areas and agriculture.

In that case, do some kind of limits exist for the interests of ZSL? On which issues should the Peasant Party have a deciding vote and where does its opinion count less? Will ZSL's entry into the sphere of problems reserved exclusively for PZPR not be interpreted as an attempt of undermining the leadership role of this party [PZPR]? How far apart can differences of opinion and positions taken be between PZPR and ZSL? What is the significance of the correcting function to be fulfilled by allied parties and how does this relate to the traditional concept of opposition? Political practice has shown that uncontrolled authority will constantly make mistakes. How then, should this sphere of activity of allied parties be structured? The trade union "Solidarity" is beginning to carry out supervisory functions whereas they should be performed by allied parties.

What should be the other goals of the multiparty system? That system, which during the time of renewal ceases to play some sort of vital role while the principal, specific weight is shifted to the relationships: the Party--"Solidarity"--the Church, which constitutes a third inportant socio-political force. It is worth noting, that some people are saying: the party and allied parties while others leave out parties in this formula. In this context, one has the feeling that allied parties are ceasing to fulfill those functions, which would arise from their function as political parties. In view of this, what

are the tasks to be fulfilled by the multiparty system? Is it only the enrichment of program contents elaborated by the Party and expansion of the spheres of social acceptance for this program? There is a problem in all of this: how to reconcile the principle of self-government and independence of organized forces with the principle of the leading role of the party. This is a key problem which occurs both in the theoretical aspect and in the aspect of political functioning. This is the first bloc of the most fundamental problems related to the place and role of ZSL in the party system.

I would like to make some comments regarding program issues, in particular, ideological issues. As far as ideology is concerned, there have been until now, difficulties in formulating a complete program in this area. It was molded from elements of the progressive tradition of the peasant movement and principles issuing from the socialist system. There existed an entire series of unanswered problems resulting from the selective treatment of the past as well as from principles incorporated into the peasant movement which were not fully accepted by all members. A negative influence on the program was exerted by dogmatic and sectarian concepts which were not totally surmounted, which underrated the role of rural communities and peasants in social development, which negatively evaluated cultural specificity and above all, the individual method of farming. As an ally of PZPR, ZSL tried to eliminate from the program and from its ideology, those elements which would suggest an association with agrarianism. At the same time, a lot of positive ideological-upbringing substance, which flows from the traditions of rural communities was being eliminated. This gives rise to one general question: which elements should, in this situation today, form the ideology of the modern peasant movement? What sort of role should tradition play and within what limits should it be exploited? How should the ideology of the peasant movement distinguish itself in a socialist state? There also exists an important block of problems connected to the attitute of ZSL towards world outlook issues.

The next group of matters--the issue of the Peasant Party's representation of peasant interests. This problem was not intensely exposed until now, particularly in the 1970's and this was probably one of the program weaknesses of the Party. ZSL is a peasant party; it counts nearly a half million citizens as members. Peasants make up the majority of the membership but the intelligentsia constitutes a sizeable group as well. The party machinery also fulfills an important role. In that case, how is the matter of representing peasant interests to look? What are the limits for the class interests of peasants and national interests in general? The Party must take up this important issue of the present day--a political and economic issue. The Eighth Congress negated the regional character of ZSL. Anyone who acknowledges the statute may become a member of the Party. Thus, a problem arises: what kind of role will other social groups and among these, the rural intelligentsia in particular? Should this be an independent role or an auxiliary role in regard to the peasant class? These are extremely vital and important issues. There is also a separate problem, important from the point of view of Party functioning, regarding the place and role of the party apparatus. It [the apparatus] is small in relation to the number of members but in the hitherto existing model of Peasant Party functioning, it played a leading organizational role. Therefore, what kind of role--in the process of

democratization and a socially broader life and democracy within the [Peasant] Party--should the permanent party apparatus play? What should constitute the guarantee of the proper fulfillment by it of its functions?

The last group of problems--the relationship of the Party to other social and political organizations in rural areas. In the beginning, I mentioned "Solidarity" and ZMW; agricultural circles and other organizations acting in rural areas should also be mentioned. Of course, from the political point of view, the most vital and most current problem is the attitude towards "Rural Solidarity". How should contacts be arranged in a practical manner and what is cooperation to look like? Will parallel activities continue, as was the case on the occasion of the People's Holiday when in certain areas there were two holidays--on Sunday and on Monday--one organized by the Peasant Party and the other by "Solidarity"? Will these social forces be divided or should we strive so that they will become integrated in a well understood, common interest of rural areas and agriculture together as a whole, in regard to other partners in our economic life, which also constitutes an extremely live and vital issue. It is too bad that the representatives of "Rural Solidarity" are not here (and whom we invited) because this is an issue which has a key significance for the practical functioning of the Peasant Party in the immediate future.

The next problem--the attitude towards ZMW, thus, towards that organization which was created through the heavy participation of Peasant Party members and activists. The Eighth Congress gave its backing to this organization and there exist many common levels of cooperation between ZMW and ZSL. Both organizations work out their program of activity in a youthful environment. On the other hand, it is necessary to take on an attitude towards the key issue which always takes place in relations between a party and a youth organization--the natural influx of youth organization members into a party. There was no tradition in the peasant movement for youth organizations to be strictly tied to political parties. ZMW "Wici" was automomous in regard to SL [Peasant Party] and as can be presumed from documents, such a position is also taken by ZMW in declaring cooperation with ZSL. Of course, ZSL is vitally interested in the passage of SMW members into the Party ranks. This constitutes a natural necessity; a condition indispensable for the preservation of the continuity of party life. At the same time--how should one go about shaping, in practice, cooperation between ZSL and ZMW, especially since ZMW is still an organization on the rise and one which is becoming organized.

These are the selected groups of problems which we would like to discuss today. However, as has already been stated, my opening address does not constrict the framework of our discussion but is simply, only an evocative element.

Tadeusz Kisielewski

In order to define the function and role of ZSL in our political life--we must return to history. First of all, we must turn our attention to the kinds of conditions under which ZSL was formed and then to its history and evolution.

ZSL was formed at a time when the period of Stalinism was already well underway. This, of course, must have exerted a great influence on the shape and model of ZSL. Of extreme importance also, is the period preceding the birth of ZSL--a period of sturggle for the victory of the socialist revolution in our country; and above all, the results of this stuuggle were of vital importance.

In its ideological and political structure, the emerging ZSL was a continuation of SL. However, the fact alone that it was formed--resulted from, in my opinion, the social presence and strength of all peasant party members, also including those who as a rule came from the old PSL [Polish Peasant Party] and who at that time remained outside of the peasant party movement, the SL and the reborn PSL but whose number was not at all small. It is also worth noting here that a certain group of activists from SL and from the reborn PSL also did not come into the emerging ZSL.

Shortly after the birth of ZSL, a theory appeared, which was propagated by a part of the party activists and also accepted by a part of ZSL activists, according to which the Party [Stronnictwo] was to be nothing more than a transmitter of Party [PZPR] politics to the peasant masses and most importantly, was to become lost along the way together with SD in the process of the development of socialism. In other words, ZSL and SD were treated as allied parties for the time being. Some ZSL activists hurriedly studied Marxism-Leninism, of course, in the Stalinist version prevailing at that time, in order to be able to join the PZPR at the moment of "ZSL's waning".

Then came October 1956--great hopes and great changes in the country. Socialism, democratic in nature, is capturing wide masses of Poles. It is linked to the Polish cause. All this proclaimed a "Copernican" breakthrough. Newness also enters rural areas in full force. The privately owned family farm is revived here--that very farm which will later prove to be for many an unwanted and unloved child. At that time, great hopes and fundamental changes occurred in the ZSL as well. The Party, which was being reborn, participated concurrently with full-fledged energy in the rebirth of social life in the country, particularly, of course, in rural areas.

However, the post-October changes quickly came to a halt. There were signs of this already in 1957. This must have affected ZSL as well. It was met with all kinds of restrictions more increasingly. The 1960's and in particular, the second half of that decade--represented regression in Party politics.

Then follows December 1970. Again, hopes and attempts of reviving ZSL. The country is undergoing great economic revitalization following great stagnation and hopelessness at the end of the 1960's. The same is true in rural areas and in agriculture. However, the situation differed from that in 1956--the former was a "Copernican"-type revolution while the latter [1970] was only a revision.

In 1971, the allied parties formally accepted the program of the PZPR as their own programs. It is clear that the circumstances for this arose much earlier--now it was formally sanctioned. This must have halted these parties' very own ideological and programmatic thought and that which follows--political responsibility. From the mid-1970's, a grave economic crisis was clearly mounting

and concurrently in the superstructure; a so-called propaganda of success became the official philosophy of the ruling party and for many--an inspiration for making private plans of setting themselves up in life. ZSL--from a practical point of view--was carried by the current of politics at that time.

Then came August 1980. This time, it would seem, we also have a "Copernican" revolution. However, it is completely different than the one of 1956. In 1956, it was a revolution of hope while in 1980--a revolution of social guarantees. In October 1956, belief came easily and without reservations; in August 1980 neither words nor gestures were trusted and an independent, huge social movement was created for the permanent assurance of subjectivity of working people and of the entire nation. This movement traverses through the trade movement as well as through political parties. Hence, it also creates a completely new challenge for ZSL.

History cannot be absent from present activity--stereotypes of thinking and actions continue and systems of political cooperation also cannot change from day to day. In Poland, there ought to be reasonably, clearly precise activity and responsibility of political parties, government administrations as well as of social and professional organizations. There must be clarity in social life. At the same time, a dialectical movement should take place between individual forces of importance in society, thus, a movement of contention and dialogue about the value and sense of actions and work. In this dialectical movement, the government should, for example, express postulates and also dissatisfaction when needed, in regard to political parties in the area of the presentation of general social and political strategy while political parties should voice their dissatisfaction, if required, aimed at the government--dissatisfaction with its activity and above all, with the effects of this activity.

Political parties should be with their members in a precise manner, in areas of their [the parties'] activity and they should express their [members] wishes and needs, of course, on a political level; they should point out prospective goals and persuade in favor of these goals; set, at the same time, on behalf of the present; indicate the complexity of things but keep in mind the overall class substance of these matters. They should also be with their members at times when discontent is roused in areas of their activity. ZSL ought to draw conclusions, as completely as possible, from the forthcoming and current history for its political activities.

Eugenia Jagiello-Lysiowa

Despite the difficulties which we are experiencing, despite the helpings of tension which we are served nearly all the time, I would, nonetheless, like to express my optimism in regard to the times in which we are living. I believe that this period can give birth to prospects of optimism including prospects of optimism for the peasart movement. This is a difficult process of creating a new model of society--nonstandard and nonduplicative; this process may, in effect, bring political and social stability to society and to the country. I would like to emphatically stress here, the point which was formulated at the meeting of the prognostication association's "Seminar on Experience and the Future" called together last Friday. In spite of what is generally said about

social upheaval, anarchy, about all kinds of threats which hang over us, the optimistic variant of this prognosis states that, in practice, a bloc of political understanding is forming which encompasses an overwhelming majority of Polish society and this gives rise to optimism.

In regard to rural areas, it may be presumed that in spite of various tensions, a new social order has begun to form here as well, an order in the area of social understanding. The registration of "Rural Solidarity" was, undoubtedly, the element which initiated the creation of this new order. I feel that without the formation of "Rural Solidarity", a new social order would be very difficult in rural areas, perhaps even impossible. Social order in rural areas should be regarded as an essential element of general social stability and not only because rural areas mean food. Polish rural areas were and still are to a certain degree, a specific social structure which possesses its own social "dimension", its own functioning mechanism, in a word--a specific socio-cultural identity. History has shown that "imposing municipal, industrial and urban structures on such rural structures as the peasant rural community (at least in our Polish conditions: the Polish rural community has a certain specificity as a result of its political tradition, its cultural cohesion and a number of other conditions) gives socially negative effects. This, of course, also gives certain positive features but the automatism of rapid "industrialization" and "urbanization", which does not take into account the danger of the loss of socio-cultural balance in rural areas and the disturbance of its internal rhythm of transformations creates a threat to the overall social balance. The uniqueness of individual farming under conditions of a socialist country together with threats from a dogmatically understood doctrine presented a unique situation here. In my opinion, this was a terrible lack of imagination and this lack of imagination is venging itself on society. This was, after all, constant undermining of the social foundations of agriculture which feeds the nation but above all, a lack of stability and confidence within agricultural management.

In connection with this, I would like to touch upon another matter. Much is said about manipulation of society in general during the past decade while little is said about manipulation of rural society. This was, after all, manipulation which was primarily based on the discreet disqualification of the peasant model of life in general. The attack on the peasant model of life in social categories was based on promoting the argument that agriculture and rural society based on individual farming because the peasant farm is an obsolete structure. This was leading astray of the collective awareness of rural areas in the personal, local and nonlocal cross section. In the personal cross section, other occupations and the glittering model of city life were important and interesting. In the local cross section, rural life always meant gossip, slander, jealousy and selfishness. A cross section of rural class values was almost nonexistent; it was something shameful--this was related to the lack of cultural centers which would support this type of bond [rural class] and values. This was, so to say, the social "justification" for the nonexistence of an authentic peasant movement and party.

What are the conditions like for the rebirth of the Polish rural community, the revival of the peasant movement and the revival of an authentic Peasant Party? There exist many unknowns in this matter but above all, great difficulty

in discerning the damage done to the social tissue of the rural community. We can speak here, it would seem, of the significant local and regional differentiation. The rural community is the most damaged--it would appear--in industrialized regions. The process of industrialization gives people bread and at the same time causes social destruction of rural communities due to improper policies towards agriculture. This is specifically associated with a collapsing agriculture in which commonly known plagues occur, such as alcoholism, disrespect for work and in particular, disrespect for the working style of the farmer and the fatal, overall turning away from rural values. The reconstruction of this rural social structure, which should be a base for the new peasant movement as well as for the Peasant Party as a true partner of the Party in the struggle for a newly forming social order, will not be so easy but this does not, at all, mean that it is not possible. The reconstruction and development of peasant farming must be linked with the strengthening of the peasant rural community as a social structure and a specific model of life. One factor cannot be isolated and it cannot be said that peasant farming will be rebuilt and developed without the rebuilding of the peasant rural community as a whole. Therefore, agriculture and self-government are not the only factors but also specific cultural traditions and "local" values; dignity and pride in the rural community, in one's occupation; political significance, respect for and appreciation of the rural community on various levels.

The issue of this extensive social reconstruction is also very important for the characterization of social conditions of the future, reborn Party model representing the rural community because the issue of the Peasant Party cannot be treated apart from the entire scope of issues concerning the rural community. The model of the Party must be connected with the future model of the rural community, agriculture and rural society.

Justification for the existence of the peasant movement and the Peasant Party expresses itself for me, above all, in the voicing of the peasant community's interests. This does not, of course, indicate viewing the peasant movement and the Party in nationwide categories. This should be a party, open in nature but one which must voice the interests of the peasant rural community and above all, must defend peasants. If the Party will not defend the peasants, then it seems to me that the formation: peasant movement and Party will simply end: it will not continue. Of course, it may be assumed that there are social movements which reach their culminating point followed by a collapse. However, I think that this does not apply to the Polish peasant movement at this stage. The peasant movement treated in just this way may become revived and a strong Party may form as a political partner. Naturally, realism is the rule here. A new definition of the peasant movement is necessary, therefore, if the possibilities and barriers of the rebirth of the peasant movement also including the Peasant Party were to be weighed. It is very difficult to present new definitions and new political-ideological terminology of this movement within the framework of a socialist State since it is a kind of "novum". However, I feel that those in the Party who use their ability to think including those in the peasant movement, people of science, activists, people who have Poland's and the rural community's future at heart, should find the means to formulate such a definition, which would constitute the modern definition of the peasant movement. Many more elements from rural traditions and many more elements resulting from the nonstandard analysis

of contemporary times should enter this new ideological formula. From the past, if only to give an example--the ethos of peasant labor and land or in other words, those values which were once described as "agrarian". Other, descriptions better suited to the new society and our open times should be found and they should also be tied to socioоccupational values; to local, agricultural microenvironments--the rural community should not be standardized [glajchszaltowac]. It seems very important to me that these environmental values should also be introduced into the program; elements of environmental balance: city-rural community on a socio-economic plane and on a cultural plane; scological values of rural areas, humanistic values, environmental protection, rebuilding of localism and of local bonds. There is also the matter of a totally different attitude towards the personality of the rural dweller and the individual. More understanding, more tolerance, more goodwill towards socio-cultural "dissimilarity" is needed. This is both a psychological problem and a social problem requiring an unschematic method of thinking about the rebuiding and development of this community. There are numerous areas, which went completely unnoticed and were not treated seriously, while they can, after all, enter into the make-up of programmatic thinking in this new [Peasant] Party.

The working out of program assumptions on the basis of these wide ranging thoughts about the rural community, social and political thoughts is after all primarily a question of shaping the program from below. The most intelligent intellectural of the peasant movement will not devise a program which can be accepted by the rural community alone. Even if we do have social understanding of what is happening in rural communities, the voicing of the rural community's interests must come from the rural community; people from the very "bootom" must take part in creating the program. Thus, this is a reverse process--not imposing certain forms of thinking, although they may be the best, but a process of creating a program from the bottom. Let the rural community itself and the peasants say what kind of Party they want and which program elements are most important to them in this Party.

I also feel that a pressure group should be formed in regard to matters involving rural society and agriculture while ZSL should become an initiating pressure group when it comes to thoughts and actions in the interest of the rural community.

Windyslaw Szymanski

Because we are discussing the place and role of ZSL in a new situation and during a time when the socio-political system is being reformed, I shall begin by saying that this role ought to be adapted, above all, to the main processes of change to which we are subject. One of the characteristic traits of the crisis, which has appeared in Poland, is that it demonstrated that we must adapt the political system and the economic system to national traits and to the mentality of Poles. The vertical, hierarchic structure of subordination and central control of society and the economy turned out to be not only rather ineffective but also contrary to our type of society. The sphere of culture and twists of history shaped a specific sense of personal independence, a particular attitude towards authority and towards authoritative subordination. The main precess of social changes must, among other things, take into account that Poles are not suited for a system in which comandeering dominates. The situation differs, in this respect, in different countries. In our country, this imposes a self-governing direction in politics and in the economy. This is also connected to the need for pluralism.

We can say, it would seem, that in Poland the process of renewal is nothing more than a process of spreading multisubjectivity and pluralism. Of course, this is a question of expressing social attitudes in a specific institutional framework, determined by recognizing the leading role of PZPR.

It appears that pluralism, which results from the formation of independent trade unions, is not enough. If there will not be certain changes leading to the increase of political pluralism, then the trade unions will simply not retain the character of trade unions. In order for trade unions to remain trade unions--in accordance with the spirit of their statute--existing political parties as well as ZSL and SD, must take on a new character in the practice of their activity. Otherwise, we will push the trade unions into politics and activity which belongs to political parties. Reality does not tolerate an empty field. If ZSL does not enter the empty field [void], then the trade unions will come into this field. Whether we will provoke extremes in Poland or neutralize them depends on the activation of parties. This requires that ZSL and SD, parties standing on the foundations of socialist development and active in alliance with PZPR, become parties with an authentic, independent program; parties which are completely sovereign for only then will their support of PZPR be of importance and one which counts. A good partner is one that is strong.

The second element which I wanted to discuss is the problem of creating a mechanism of democracy. We are forever saying that there will not be a renewal if we do not create appropriate mechanisms of democracy and if we do not create a mechanism of control and responsibility for information. Among other things, we are also saying that this requires the separation of political authority from economic authority and requires a change in the role of the Sejm. However, it appears that this does not suffice because a similar mechanism of responsibility and control must be created within political authority itself. One of the elements of the crisis, which became apparent, is that errors in the area of formulating goals of social development and defining and understanding the shape of development became clearly evident. This is precisely what belongs to the responsibility of political parties. PZPR should have defined such goals in objective discussions and even in disputes with ZSL and SD and with other social forces. This is where weaknesses in voicing social priorities and social evaluating appeared. These were words which were often padded as desired. Social priorities --was a concept which became an umbrella under which voluntarism and subjectivism were hidden. Political authority is responsible for voicing social priorities as well as voicing and defending collective interests. Certain mechanisms of control, of the flow of information and responsibility must become manifest in the very formula of political authority. Herein lies the great role of political parties: without sincere, genuine interparty discussion there is a much greater danger of erroneous comprehension of that which is compatible with social priorities and that which is not; that which is along the line of collective interests and that which is discordant with these interests. After all, it is not only the goals and program which are important but also the method of formulating them. This is dependent on social support and activity in their implementation.

The next matter, which I wanted to take up, is "Rural Solidarity" and the Party. A qualitatively new situation has come about which requires changes in the functioning of the Party. Certain forms of activity have lost their social meaning because of the nature of the social changes. Many crucial matters concerning rural areas have become the basis for the activity of trade unions. It appears from this that the Party must return to natural activities which belong to a political party.

What do I see as the main tasks of ZSL? Above all, active participation in the shaping of a program for the development of the country. This is the most vital matter. Furthermore--the creation of an ideology which would favor the equal rights treatment of rural dwellers. We are a class society. From this point of view, we are a class party. The formation of an appropriate ideology of the equal rights treatment of rural residents, disseminating information about their needs and the defense of their financial, cultural and political interests--that is the main task. The third important matter is related to the creation and defense of the ideology of the nonschematic approach to the structure of agriculture in a socialist State. This must be one of the important tasks for ZSL. We must fight for lasting perspectives for peasant family farms. It turns out that it is often the case that as gold requires admixtures in order to become gold of high quality so it also appears that socialism requires certain additions of other forms in particular areas in order to be strong and effective and to be good socialism.

At the present time, the responsibility of all political forces is to, as I would call it, create an ethos of work; create a proper attitude towards work and respect for good work. It is obvious in our society, at the present time, that we show remarkable judgement in extreme matters and in matters involving the greatest threat. When we are pushed against the wall and when we are on the edge of an abyss, we show instinct, common sense and humility. However, on an everyday basis, we do not show enough common sense in those activities which decide whether we will be pushed against the wall or not. This has been the case not only in recent months--it goes back much further into the past. We want a new form of socialism, a new sensible economy in Poland and yet in everday life as a mass and as a society, we do not activate ourselves in organized work. We are not too inclined to agree to sacrifices which are indispensable for the implementation of these goals. Finally, there is indifference, apathy and poor work which not only degrades us economically but poses a threat to the renewal of our socio-political life and threatens sovereignty. It may be said that what the Reformation did in the West was not done here at home. It [the Reformation] created a certain ethos of work. We do not have this in Poland. Such an ethos still exists in rural areas and it should be widely extrapolated. If we were to think about what we as individuals do specifically, on an everyday basis for the benefit of renewal, then it would very often become apparent that we are not doing a thing. We are waiting for someone to pull us out of the crisis; that our dreams will come true by themselves.

Eugenia Jagiello-Lysiowa

But my dear colleague, don't you see what the social activation has been like since August?

Wladyslaw Saymanski

Yes, but in essential matters, from the socio-political point of view. It is not apparent in daily work, in the elimination of difficulties or existing nonsense. There is a lack of organizational activities. There is constant waiting for miraculous formulas and authoritative decisions in regard to all matters even there where matters should be taken into our own hands.

Jan Gorecki

From the point of view of political-organizational activity of the Party, the basic issue is giving consideration to and a full explanation of how the "independence of ZSL" ought to be understood and implemented "while maintaining the leading role of PZPR". It should be admitted honestly, that until now this has been more of a slogan which does not have a broader explanation either from the practical or theoretical point of view. Therefore, we all repeat it without really knowing what it is about. The experiences gained until now are not promising either. In the history of People's Poland, we have tried perhaps only three times (for the third time at present) to give this slogan a more thorough dusting. This occurred during politically and economically difficult times when the country and, in particular, the party found themselves in jeopardy. Social forces were then sought which could help in the difficult situation. This activity turned out to be effective because among the reviving forces of renewal, ZSL activated its operations, mobilizing its members and the areas of its influence for the support of new party politics and its leadership. However, as danger would pass so the renewed declarations would be forgotten, which again were without significance. Thus, ZSL was again pushed down to the role of a passive participant in governing the country which only had the responsibility of supporting and accepting that which was decided upon by the party leadership. Any attempts at demonstrating independence and, particularly, a critical attitude towards the party line were strongly opposed and regarded as an expression of ally disloyalty and applying pressure on the party. It should also be admitted self-critically that ZSL leadership and this being on various levels, following periods of revival, quickly agreed to this role, most likely, not believing that a different one was possible. It was even believed, not too infrequently, that the development of independence may be harmful to ZSL itself by undermining the trust of the ruling party, which having reservations towards the ally, engaged it less, even for minor participation in the process of fulfilling authority; thus, the experiences up to now concerning the implementation of the thesis about the "leading role of PZPR and the independence of ZSL" are very one-sided and meager. However, only one experience is important--that whenever efforts were made of restoring the practical meaning of this thesis, ZSL became reanimated. The activity of rural areas and agriculture also grew and the nation's food supply improved as did the overall growth of the country.

It should also be stressed that every subsequent abou- face was less enthusiastic while its active participants were becoming more and more interested not only in renewal itself but, above all, in guarantees which could be adopted in order to prevent further departure from the line of renewal and development of ZSL independence. For this reason, even now, the Party members are interested not in repeating the worn out slogan about ZSL independence but in the practical aspects of its implementation and activity which will protect the Party from the role already experienced in the past. Therefore, both the impatient tone of many discussions and the obvious pessimism should be understood.

I am not a political scientist [politolog] but only a Party activist, more in the sphere of its socio-economic activities. However, I am aware that today the Party has found itself in such a position where its further development will be impossible without marked progress in the clear formulation of its new political role and the capacity to carry on its activity. The rebirth of the Party in rural areas will be possible only if it assumes independent activity which will be fully accepted by the community.

In this light, a series of questions arises which require clear and definite answers: thus, does ZSL, as an allied party have the obligation to always support the party program or can it and even should it present its own program or at least its own methods of implementation? Should not the alliance, PZPR and ZSL, based on the labor-peasant alliance pertain only to the basic socio-political goals which mark the principal directions of socio-political development? Can the implementation of these goals not be the object of separate programs which would accentuate various roads, priorities, etc.? Can the separateness of activity in this field not be outlined by a rather admissable border line of party coalition in which partners cannot cross over to the opposition but, at the same time, one in which they do everything in order to accentuate the separateness and dissimilarity of their methods of operating in the implementation of these same goals? Under our conditions, an admissable limit of such separateness would be the socialist State's constitution ratified by allied and--with respect to its socio-political goals--basic political forces of laborers and peasants.

Therefore, in such conditions, activities which would go beyond the limits of the allied party system would be activity discordant with the constitution and only such activity could be regarded as oppositional and inadmissable according to the agreement entered into between the party and other parties in our country. So much for matters concerning the political activity of the Party.

Right now, I would like to go on to matters involving the socio-economic program. I shall begin by saying that in this area as in the political sphere, the program of the Party must be credible and correspond to the aspirations of those social groups which it concerns. From this point of view, undoubtedly the most important issue is the attitude towards the system of ownership in agriculture and towards its evolution. The first program of agricultural policy of People's Poland had been worked out by the entire political Left Wing and by progressive forces in Poland already during the Nazi occupation and made known in the decree of 1944 regarding agricultural reform. This was the most valid agricultural policy of the People's government and popularly accepted by the peasant

masses. Therefore, it brought results beyond all expectations which made it possible for agriculture, whose production and human resources were ruined, to feed the starving population increasingly better and it brought accumulation for the rebuilding of the ruined economy in the entire country. However, the enthusiasm did not list long because if was acknowledged that only socialized agriculture is cap ble of taking care of needs. Therefore, already in 1948 a radical change in agricultural policy took place. Despite various efforts of encouraging and forcing peasant farmers to set up collective farms, collectivization did not succeed. It simply did not work out. Therefore, roundabout ways were sought which were given various descriptions and names depending on the internal as well as external situation. However, the doctrine, which stated that the family farm constitutes a temporary form and that the ultimate strategic goal of agricultural policy is socialization of agriculture, was still in force. Thus, for 30 years, we have been stressing, instructing and arguing on behalf of the superiority of State owned and collective farms and at the same time, we are tearing away land from peasant farms and drawing away from farming--entire generations of young people for whom departure from farming is, after all, for the most part an advancement. In place of this, we give neither machinery nor tools to agriculture only constant reprimands that it is not keeping up with industrial development. We are implementing the great process of industrialization, to a significant degree, from the resources and at the cost of agricultural development whereas it turns out later that the decisions made in this field are voluntaristic and ignorant. All this led up to the situation which we have today in peasant farming. In the meantime, the Party together with the Party issue declarations which, in practice, are not implemented. This year, a third such declaration is being delivered, which is essentially similar to the previous ones. Therefore, everything is as it was before although experiences are becomeng more important and in connection with this, results are increasingly smaller. Hence, what are the strategic goals of agricultural policy today; will the production growth be again related to the reconstruction of agriculture? Such a statement continues to conceal much vagueness. Thus, how should the reconstruction of agriculture be understood, should it necessarily depend on the socialization of the means of production? Moreover, as has been the case until now, the concurrent implementation of two goals; i.e., an increase in production and in reconstruction seems impossible.

All of this confirms an old, well-known law that as an area expands or the scale of production increases so the obtained production per unit of land area decreases. This problem is particularly important in our country where because of small land resources, the most important index is the amount of production per unit area. This indicates that in proportion to the increase of the land area of a farm (I believe that in our present conditions this is limited to 50-100 hectares), production from a unit surface area decreases. Therefore, two goals, which contradict each other, cannot be implemented concurrently. I believe, therefore, that in our conditions, the principal, strategic goal of agricultural policy should be an increase in production and as a result, by means of appropriate price ratios, assurance of an improvement in the standard of living of the rural population, which would equal the standard of living of other social groups. Under what forms is this to take place--this the farmers will decide themselves.

Personally, I feel that the period of large workers' groups, based on the separation of managerial work from production work is gone forever. In addition, there is nothing which would indicate that the family run farm, which undergoes changes and transformations is experiencing any kind of crisis. Quite the contrary, duovocationalism; biological production and the peasant movement [ruch zielonych] are rather testimony of its renaissance. It also cannot be said that modern family farm does not allow for a solution to social and cultural family needs. The rural laborer's aspiration for an apartment with a bathroom in an apartment building turned out to be the result of a low level of development or rather the result of the underdevelopment of the infrastructure. However, this is quickly losing its importance. The rural laborer is looking more and more to owning a home with a garden and work which is more diversified than the daily routine of removing and carrying away manure several dozen kilometers from the house. All of this does not appear to be more economical either--as had been anticipated. Therefore, the Peasant Party must assume new ideas and concepts in the area of the socio-economic program in agriculture. After all, a certain economic philosophy and doctrine should be created in this area which as a program should create an independent, creative movement. Otherwise, the Party not only will not achieve independence and programmatic identification but will die a natural death because it will neither mobilize its members nor attract new ones.

Tadeusz Marczak

I think that colleague Winiarczyk's introductory remarks have, so to say, called us to the blackboard. There are so many issues, that each one should have this type of discussion organized for it separately. In fact, I would like to stray somewhat from that which we call here the current events of yesterday and from today's calming news for I believe that this is called for. In conjunction with this, I would like to concentrate on certain inferences which flow from the most recent history. I am referring to that which colleague Gorecki talked about. Hence, a few comments. As we know, we have experienced crises in the past. The first crisis was the years 1949 and 1950; the following crisis was the year 1956 and the subsequent one was the year 1970. I probably will not discover America if I say that these are crises whose source is not so much in the sphere of economics as in the sphere of politics. One of the reasons for these crises are, in my opinion, mistakes made by PZPR in its politics. As far as mistakes are concerned, for which we as a Party and as a Peasant movement should take responsibility, I think that mention should be made of, above all, excessive submission in regard to the way the Party wanted to set up the peasant movement and the Party. We could argue over the degree of this compliance towards the Party's demands. However, it appears to me that a lot of our fault lies in that we were incapable of presenting our own, valid views to the Party in an appropriate manner.

Why was it so and perhaps continues to be so? Simply because we have strayed, in my opinion, from the main, fundamental principles of the program of the peasant movement. The Party should be the spokesman for one of the basic classes or strata (I do not with to argue here whether peasants are a social stratum or class) whereas it has stopped representing peasants in its programs and in its activity. Colleague Lysiowa talked about the need for voicing, at every turn, the interests of the class, which is being represented. I would like to add, however, that these interests should be voiced in the context of one of the basic program principles

which lies at the base of the peasant movement and which was best expressed in the past by Wincenty Witos--in the context of understanding the role of the nation, as independent and sovereign nation. I think that historians will agree with this. In other words, voicing class interests, which we represent in the context of nationwide and general social interests, is one of the basic program principles of our movement and our Party. I am afraid that we have strayed from this principle, especially in recent times. And this is one of those political errors--I am not saying that it is the only one--which caused the occurrence of these very crises.

In our practical activity in ZSL, we have slipped to the positions of cheap pragmitsm. We have become a party of agronomists for it seemed that the issue of agricultural production ought be the only, basic task of the Party. It appears from this--and I will refer here to that about which colleague Szymanski spoke--that we have forgotten about the upbringing functions of the Peasant Party, of the peasant movement in a broader sense and about work on behalf of shaping views and mentalities, particularly among the younger generation.

I will now assume an attitude towards the remarks made by colleague Kisielewski. The succeeding congresses of PZPR passed programs. The ZSL adopted these programs as its very own. What does this mean? This simply means, no more no less, that deviations in the activity and the political line of the Party [PZPR] became our deviations as well and we should, as Party activists, be always aware of this for this caused degeneration in our work. I will give an example. We placed our bets on, so-called, technocratism. I said, so-called, because experience and the reality of today revealed the total nothingness and worthlessness of bureaucratic-arbitrary solutions to, at any rate, the most vital matters for the country. We have cast aside the principle of forming cadres composed of activists. We have placed our bets on clerical cadres and this is one of the contributions to the activity of our apparatus. I do not wish to, hereby, condemn the entire Party apparatus because it does have many very valuable, committed people who in the course of their sork in the Party, in time, became activi ts. However, their road to this apparatus did not lead through previous social activity, development from the bottom or forming their own views and transmitting these views to the public. This road led not through natural social advancement but through a high school or college diploma. This caused the breaking away of the basic majority of the Party apparatus from that class which this apparatus is supposed to serve. These are only selected examples of degeneration, which I personally have been observing, especially, during the most recent period of the Party's activity.

I would like to refer to the issue of the Party program. This is where I must apologize to my colleagues for not sharing the view that the last Congress greatly enriched the Peasant Party's programmatic train of thought. Of course, I do notice the great values of the last ZSL Congress but I feel that it was within our capacity, especially at the threshold of renewal to take on a broader attitude towards the program issues and this, particularly, at the Eighth Congress.

Why do I believe that the program issue is so important? Because I feel that if we were to observe the general program assumptions of the peasant movement, then in very many instances it would not have come to the degenerations which took place. Therefore, what lies at the basis of the program of the peasant movement

and the peasant parties? First of all, the principle of social justics. This is, not at all, something new. This principle was formulated by peasant parties before the war. The second principle--democracy. At the present time, we are wondering how to return to democracy in the Peasant Paryy and on an overall social scale. There is no need to discover America in this case. What should be done--is to return to the basic principles which were once expressed in the programs of the peasant movement. The following principle is the principle of self-government. We are currently discovering self-government as a method of holding authority and what's more--authority in a socialist system. This principle was at the foundations of the peasant movement and it was for this principle that the peasant movement fought in the course of its history. The next principle is that of the cooperative movement. This too is not a discovery. It is that which the peasant movement absorbed into its programs during its history.

After all, all these principles which were at the basis of the peasant movement do not conflict with the substance of the socialist system. Quite the contrary--I believe that they enrich the socialist system. That is the way they should be treated right now when the issue of a turnaround stands before us, a major turnaround in our national, social and private life. It is currently very untimely and unfashionable to refer to Marxism. Nevertheless, I will refer to it. I would like to say here that it does not conflict with the theory of "the wasiing away of the State" expressed by Lenin.

Let us recall the Marxist definition that the State is the instrument of class rule. A State in which the socialist system develops towards communism--wastes away. However, in imperialistic surroundings, it maintains its defense and external functions. Under internal conditions, State functions succumb, to a large extent, to wasting away. If we now look at the programmatic principles of the peasant movement from this point of view, then would it not be possible to enrich these external State functions with the principles which I mentioned as being at the basis of the peasant movement? This does not weaken the State but strengthens it through truly democratic, autonomous, cooperative solutions of all those problems which the State is incapable of solving and should not solve--if, of course, we treat the State seriously as an instrument of class rule. For what does it mean? After all, we are the spokesmen of those classes which are in control. We agree, I believe, that the thesis of a growing class struggle is invalid. Therefore, if there is no mounting class struggle, then we can strengthen the socialist State with our programmatic principles. This, then, can be the original contribution of the peasant movement to socialism.

I think that it would be worth recalling here that another such contribution, which justifies our programmatic independence and our usefullness in shaping the socialist State, the people's State, could be the historical contribution of peasant party members to the shaping of the State.

In the book entitled, "From the History of the Peasant Movement", there is material by Dr Luczak in which the author shows to what extent the Peasant Party was a "support" of the peasant [people's] authority in the years 1944-1946. In all the provinces [voivodships] in which the State Council conducted a survey concerning the number of rural parish, county and provincial councillors and their membership

in political parties--there was a prevalence of Peasant Party members in the provinces of Bialystok, Lublin, Rzeszow and a part of the Warsaw province. This is, I would think, some sort of obvious contribution on our part to the shaping of this reality.

I would like to add a few more comments to the remarks made by colleague Kisielewski and to his statement as to how the relationship between the State, the Party [PZPR] and authority is to take shape and, particularly between ZSL and PZPR. His statement that ZSL should become a contesting force on the programmatic level in regard to reality is crucial. I am afraid, however, that this is only one step away from opposition and I think that we should not allow ourselves in taking advantage of relative liberalism, to shape the Party as an opposition party in the future. An attitude of partnership-like discourse with the Party or parties should be formed for, in this multiparty system, we are one of the forces. We should not come out with some sort of general thesis about the possibility of a contesting attitude of ZSL towards reality, particularly on a national scale.

I would also like to comment on what was said by colleague Szymanski. Therefore, it is my opinion that, in general, it should probably be said that every young generation discovers all solutions "anew". All that about which colleague Szymanski spoke--the creation of democratic mechanisms, also mechanisms of self-government and of the cooperative movement--is, in fact, a part of our history and in the history of the peasant movement. Please read the statutes of the peasant parties. They stipulate the possibilities of the democratic election of authorities. I am speaking of the statutes which were in effect between 1944-1948. The potential for democracy in those statutes was fully guaranteed. I am raising this issue because I fear the statement: if we do not create democratic mechanisms and the ZSL does not change its character, then it must leave the political arena. I should think it isn't so, We simply are in this political arena and we do not have to leave it. However, we must return to our basic, programmatic principles and this also applies to the ethos of work. To a large extent, we are responsible for the state of things as they are currently. That is how we have raised generations. I am afraid that this is perhaps the greatest harm which we have done to society in recent years.

Marek Ignar

In my opinion, during the entire postwar period, we undoubtedly had dealt with a certain kind of phase fluctuation, a certain kind of arrhythmia of awareness. This is also, to a certain degree, the result of infusing solutions and theories which were not always adapted to Polish specificity and to our peculiarities. But, after all, we came out of the shock of war with enormous energy which was stored in those who lived. This, then, ties in with the subject of what we as Poles are capable of? Do we store energy; are we hard working or not? My opinion is that the reserves [of energy] are very large. In this respect, we do not differ from other nations but it is rather conditions which determine that we act this and not another way. During the period immediately following the war, Polish peasants were forced to produce and also at times to carry out distribution under extremely difficult conditions. However, despite the tragedies of war and the destruction of agricultural workshops, this "silence"--the silence of

peace has turned out to be stronger as a stimulus of activity than all shortages of the means of production or of the means of consumption from nonrural sources. Hence, such traits as resourcefulness, efficiency and flexibility appeared along with minimalism of personal needs and pronounced neighborly assistance. Following the unprecedented misfortunes of war, gradual regeneration of the greatly wounded substance of the State and the nation turned out to be possible. It is a fact, to be sure--not without help from abroad. Furthermore, immediately following the war, farmers were not yet managed and were not yet graciously endowed with the means of production and in reality, a kind of independence and personal risk dominated which, in a sense, harmonized with the independence of rhythms in the giving of birth by the earth. Must we Poles have, in a sense, as our goad--our impulse, only misforture, destruction or war?

However, let us go on from this postwar period to our present times. In the social sphere, I tend towards the views of those authors who speak of something which could be called discrimination and a neofeudal attitude towards the peasant in the years 1974-1980. The description itself seems to me to already be, in truth, too extreme and as we know extremes are not one of the virtues of scientific analysis or even of journalistic expressions. We are dealing with very serious losses, almost continuously from August 1980 to April 1981 and maybe even longer, due mainly to the mistaken placing of stakes on bureaucratic "revitalization", "renewal", "declarations", etc.. What I have in mind here also is the nature of the first version of guidelines of the Political Bureau and Chief Committee of ZSL and the December ZSL Congress which discouraged peasants (although there were opporturnties for a different Congress, the SD Congress for example, which in turn perhaps went too far in the opposite direction). I would also include the "polished" congress of the cooperative movement in this same unfortunate and unconvincing series for the peasants. This is where I encounter a great conflict for rural self-government. The conflict: "Rural Solidarity" and CZKR [Central Union of Agricult ral Circles] and within this context--the congress of agricultural circles. Undoubtedly much damage was brought about during the months following August by obstruction, stupidity or by a lack of imagination; by securing against responsibility for decisions made and by a strange languor, particularly on the part of mid-level authorities as well as those on a higher level. Then followed the well-known agreements of Rzeszow and Ustrzyki which took great pains to achieve but were achieved successfully. Then came Bydgoszcz. I do not have the ambition nor the possibility of analyzing this conflict here but I am, I suppose, allowed to say that in the case of the strike in WK ZSL [Voivodship Committee of the United Peasant Party], we were, undoubtedly, dealing with underrating of the situation and not recognizing the quality and nature of the peasant protest while all this was spiked with apprehension, delayed reactions and, unfortunately, with indifference on the part of ZSL.

I am a representative of the AN [Polish Academy of Sciences] Institute, therefore, I would like to say a few words on the subject of the work of scientists. In my opinion, a very distinct separation of scientific activity from political activity is very important for researchers and scientists and is especially important to the agricultural sciences with which I have relatively the greatest familiarity. I believe that erasing the borderline between science and politics has done some serious damage in ZSL as well. I feel that just such an attitude is especailly dangerous on the level of research, analysis, diagnosis and

subsequently reaching conclusions. I would even go further by saying that the product of the agricultural economist's or rural sociologist's mental work on these levels should be categorically separated from the act of making political and economic decisions. Furthermore, I believe that the, at times, imperceptible erasing away of borderlines between scientific and political activity in, above all, the social sciences was in very many cases the cause of the situation whose results were meanders, mistakes and contradictions of policy towards rural areas and agriculture. As far as the independence of researchers is concerned--I do not necessarily interpret this to mean full-time, independent science employees. In rural and agricultural matters, what is needed, perhaps more so today--is a kind of reverse analysis of the work done until now and at the same time, a second objective look at the authors who perhaps sometimes were too hastily regarded as authorities in the area of those specialties in which man moved about. It appears to me that the proposed action is indispensable in order to describe anew, as precisely as possible and in a short amount of time, the among other things, very important relations--the present moment and the past as well as the present moment and the future. I believe that this applies, especially at the present time, to the peasant movement. This attitude should be kept in check so as not to do harm. Sometimes not doing something is more beneficial than hasty implementation. If we do not know exactly what action to take concerning various details, then let us, at least, be aware of what not to do under any circumstances. Therefore, let us not make mistakes, now, from previous years. The wealth of mistakes from previous years is very large indeed. And what else? I am convinced that--as was said by A. Slominski--everything is possible in Poland, even a change for the better.

Tadeusz Barszczak

In the discussion which we are conducting, I do not wish to go into an evaluation of the past, into an analysis of deviations from the principles of the socialist system or into the sources of deformation in the system of authority fulfillment. It seems to me that these matters are relatively well-known.

In presenting comments about the place and role of ZSL as a fully independent and individual political party in Poland, I am of the opinion that the question of what constitutes the principal motivation of renewal; of the great, invigorating trade movement and of the socio-political movement, should be answered in the very beginning. I believe that a basic change has taken place in the awareness of our society in regard to its participation in carrying out authority, appointing of representative organs and leading the nation. The common goal of society is to achieve self-determination by developing democracy in all of its aspects. The strength of the renewal movement increases through the increasingly greater reliance on the awareness that sovereignty can be increased, also in national categories, by the development of democracy and self-governments. I believe that in the foreseen future, the renewal movement will expand its influence to economic and n neconomic areas of national life, leading to the gradual implementation of goals defined by social awareness.

An important feature of the renewal movement is in principle, its evolutionary nature. This trait is extremely valuable for sudden changes are incapable of being controlled.

The place of ZSL in the political system should be examined in the aspect of ideological and programmatic goals of the Party, which are conditioned by its origins, its fundamental base of influence and of course, by social awareness which is developed by the renewal movement. The word "renewal" assumes reaching down to the roots--to basic truths.

It should be reminded more emphatically today than ever before, that the peasant movement formulated its own concepts of the political system of People's Poland which were never antisocialist and which had many ideas in common with those which were carried by the socialist movement. In this way, the peasant movement formed the basis for the alliance of the Party with the workers' party. Human development and welfare were the primary values of the political thought of the peasant movement.

It is my opinion that in certain essential matters, particularly, in regard to the methods of implementing goals, the peasant movement advanced the concept of social agreement more consistently. The thought of settling internal conflicts with a dictatorship was foreign to it.

From August, we have created many social agreements, thereby implementing, in practice, the ideas of the peasant movement in regard to social reconstruction. I consider this to be a very important matter and totally unexposed in the ZSL press. Social agreement has, today, become a significant foundation of national life. It can also be an important proposal from ZSL to society as not a temporary but permanent concept of creating order in public life.

The peasant movement consistently proclaimed democratic principles. In today's program, which from ZSL's position is to be at the same time a program proposal for society, it is difficult to even imagine that something else could be proposed other than, the as full and realistic as possible, participation of sociaty in administration and in the make-up of authority and its control.

In my opinion, the political system in Poland is succumbing and will continue to succumb to evolution. It is rather unlikely, today, that this evolution will achieve the Western European type of parliamentary democracy. As can be expected, society will also not accept the current practice of holding authority by a particular "elite". New systems solutions become indispensable. This is a vital matter. These solutions will be, as may be expected, the result of a large-scale social agreement in which ZSL together with the remaining parties, trade unions and Catholic Church, ought to be coordinators.

The permanent separation of the apparatus of political parties from the structure of the State must become the important element of the aforementioned solutions. The strong bond of the apparatus of political parties with the State not only failed to pass the test but created a serious threat to society in the past, especially, during periods of tension.

The fundamental base of ZSL activity are rural areas and agriculture. The rural movement always favored the parcelling of large land property but at the same time, it was for private land ownership and the agrarian system whose foundation consists of family farms which do not employ wage-earners. It [the peasant

movement] was not against the creation of other forms of farming. Its farming program was, therefore, not closed or dogmatic but open; it assumed the existence of multiplicity and strengthened those ideas which at the same time were conducive to efficiency and the development of the individual.

If today, in the form of discoveries, we record arguments "about the permanence of family farms", then it souuld be remembered that this is nothing new. The structure of peasant farming has endured in the agricultural system from Roman times and even earlier. Its fall usually caused not only misfortune but also economic regression and national disasters. The development of rural family farms in Poland constitutes a totally natural, vital element of the ZSL program for rural areas and for all of society.

An economic backup area in the form of varied trades and small industry is indispensable for the proper functioning of the agricultural family farm. These important areas of rural farm life are at a standstill today--they are an impediment to production growth. It appears that, in order for its growth to fulfill its task well, it must be an element of private enterprise. The growth of the agricultural family farm requires the development of private trades in rural areas on a large scale.

In considering the place of ZSL in the political system of Poland, it is necessary to answer the question: Is there a social need for a party of the peasant movement? I believe that such a need does exist, The peasants and the rural community need such a party; it is also the expectation of numerous city dwellers. This was expressed by farmers united in NSZZ RI "Solidarnosc" [Independent Self-governing Trade Union of Private Farmers "Solidarnosc"] at one of their meetings in SGGW [Central School of Agriculture]. They stated clearly that as a trade union, they do not want to concern themselves with politics. They anticipate that ZSL will take up problems of the rural community and agriculture which will be political in nature. In order for the Peasant Party to fulfill these tasks, it should free itself permanently from the still recent positions and become a truly independent party, firmly bound to its natural base, above all, in rural areas as well as in the city. The expectations of the city, in respect to ZSL, are connected with not only the food complex but also, not to a lesser degree, with ecological problems.

The activity of the United Peasant Party was characterized from its inception by many deformations. Other than, for short periods of time, ZSL was not an independent party and was also only formally united. The expectation of not only ZSL members is for this sad period to be completely in the past. I believe that the Extraordinary ZSL Congress should express this by, concurrently, undergoing a name change. Out of various suggestions, the one that appears worthy of attention is the one which refers to the federated congress of 1931, thus, to the historical name, "Peasant Party".

Zygmunt Hemmerling

In joining this discussion, I would like to begin with the problem of order. I found out rather late about today's meeting, therefore, my thoughts will be somewhat discheveled. Secondly--it is a shame that WIES WSPOLCZESNA, the organizer of this discussion has strayed from some very good customs as that of distributing the topics for discussion before the meeting, thus, greatly facilitating its direction and preparation.

I would like to begin with a more general thought, namely, that which concerns cooperation of the communist movement and the peasant movement in the 1930's. It is commonly known that in rural areas of Poland, the peasart movement was actually the closest ally of the Communist Party. It is also a known fact that the communist movement recognized the program objectives of the peasant movement in the 1930's. What I have in mind here is the Sixth Plenum of KC CPP [Central Committee of the Communist Party of Poland] from February 1936. It accepted them [the program goals] as a certain phase in the struggle for the realization of general democratic tasks. In spite of this, certain ideas expressed by the communist movement were not accepted and did not have such an intense resounding in rural areas as we would have liked. I am thinking, in particular, of facts on the scale of the concept of the peasant front or the issue of the Declaration of Rights of the Young Generation. Without lowering the importance of these historical facts, it should be said that they were not generally accepted. It is common knowledge that the Declaration of Rights of the Young Generation was not signed by any of the leading activists who fulfilled responsible functions in this movement.

What am I driving at? My aim is to show that at the core of these difficulties was the fact that the peasant movement was always afraid of one thing: that in this alliance, it would lose its authenticity, its independence and its identity. It also asked itself the question of what would be its role in this alliance; will it be subordinate to the primary goals of the communist movement? Besides many other vital issues--ideological and programmatic or the fear of delegalization --this issue played a rather important role. I must say that these misgivings proved correct, to a lesser or greater degree, during the next phases of history. During the period of People's Poland, this occurred especially vividly in the years 1950-1954 and even in 1956.

Meanwhile, the socialist system, which accepted in full the peasant movement after some hesitation, created or began to create a new model of social attitudes, a new model of attitudes towards ownership, a new party system and a new political system. This system, which was forming, did not have historical experience. It is a well-known fact that the party system, which arose in the Soviet Union, had completely different traditions. It may be said that it lacked proper examples or historical experience and in connection with this, this system was exposed to many difficulties of one kind or another, downfalls, inconsistencies, etc. These downfalls did not lie only in people, party or State leaders. These downfalls were also affected by worldwide attitudes, attitudes in the Polish and international labor movement and the country's economic situation which characterized itself with a lack of stability. The essence of the socialist system is not competition, mutual discreditation or the fight for power but cooperation with the aid of jointly implementing set goals. In practice, this would come down to subordinating political allies and particular elements of the party system. During certain periods this subordination went very far.

In theoretical assumptions, particularly those of the 1970's or 1960's, which pertained to the party model and political model, we will come across many issues which are still alive today and which have not lost their value. On what, then, was the error or weakness of these theoretical constructions based?

In my opinion, simply on the fact that they were not being implemented. Such is the truth. If we were to take old handbooks pertaining to the party system and the role of allied parties in this system, then we could actually place our signatures under all this. However, the practice of political life strayed very far from these theoretical assumptions. This is evidenced by the fact that the threat of termination hung over ZSL not only between 1950-1956; this problem reappeared on a somewhat different scale in the 1960's and the 1970's. The range of activity of ZSL was limited. District committees in cities and school committees succumbed to quiet elimination. Theses which spoke of the prospects of ZSL activity in rural areas had a hard time passing censorhsip. It was necessary to use persuasion or refer to examples in NRD [German Democratic Republic] or Bulgaria.

That is why, it was with great satisfaction and pleasure that we seized the statement made by Prof Adam Lopsatka that in a discernible perspective, our party system is lasting. It may be stated that, in a sense, this thesis strengthened us. This sense of permanence or stability of the party system created a constitutional legacy for us. It was like this for a certain period which lasted for only a very short time. It turned out that this consitutionnal legacy, which was a great achievement of our State ideology, in reality, changed nothing and on the contrary, the process of limiting the role of ZSL proceeded somehow. Many factors contributed to this. The reasons for this phenomenon remain behind us but they also dwell within us. Sometimes many obstacles and restrictions were impossible to overcome. The truth is that Marx was also censored. We also sometimes sold out our ideological values and our independent, peasant party self-esteem. We sold out values which have a durable character and in a certain sense are--timeless. We ourselves would frequently approach these values too selectively, too easily and we indiscriminately assumed models of the revolutionary labor movement.

I do not, at all, wish to say by this that they were of no use to us. However, they originated in different surroundings, under different conditions and they were addressed to a different addressee [rec pient]; we often forgot about this and in this way we would lose our authenticity. Obviously, many experiences of the labor party have a great value for our activity but that which took place went very far. Simply put, a certain so to say, ideological as well as organizational-political convergence would take place. Perhaps this statement is rather anemic; this was not convergence but submission, subordination. The acceptance of everything, which originated on the outside, as one's own and not subject to discussion, had many negative consequences and also led to the committing of analogous mistakes. Such criteria were oftentimes used for the evaluation of ZSL work, so that models accepted from the outside were a measure of progress, radicalism and a measure of the maturity of the movement. A classical example of this is resignation from one's own program although this fact did not fit in the theoretical ,onderings of political scientists [politologow]--Marxists. However, it was different in practice. It may be said that it was practice that was digging an abyss between the ZSL apparatus as well as the authorities and the party masses.

The party masses felt this clearly, consciously or perhaps subconsciously or be it intuitively. This abyss was becoming deeper. I would say that the peasant masses were aware that the loss of independence meant the limiting of various tasks of the political party; endowing the party with a functional character in regard to dissident environments. The mobilizational-programmatic and the organizational-production functions of ZSL were expanded. Some said that ZSL had become reduced to the role of an agronomist. It would have been good if it had some results in this field. However, there were downfalls, difficulties, failures, etc., here as well. In the field, ZSL did not codecide about the structure of agricultural policies. It lost its creative and supervisory functions, functions to which a peasant party is entitled.

The loss of authenticity or be it independence also proceeded in the area of ideological-upbringing and in the evaluation of its [ZSL] own achievements. In the 1970's, ZSL was detached from the rural community, from the peasants and from their real needs. It did not perceive them and ignored these needs since it could not fulfill them. This process was very obvious. Here lies, among others, one of the reasons hy "Rural Solidarity" found such a broad field for its activity.

It can be said that the Party lacked consistency and strength in laying out its agricultural policy and later in implementing it. It did not defend or did not know how to defend joint agreements and resolutions, even the resolutions of the 15th Plenum of KC PZPR of October 1974 in regard to agricultural development and the food economy. Speaking of the agricultural policy of SL and ZSL, let us take a look at the vacillations which it underwent. By the end of the 1940's, SL and ZSL stand for individual peasant farming. At the beginning of the 1950's, we were for collective farming, although, voluntary which was to be put into effect when conditions for reconstruction would arise. Not much time passed until the moment when we began to exert force against that, which we had propogated earlier--collectivization of rural areas. And we, like the party apparatus of PZPR, gave people recognition on the basis of the results they produced in the area of developing the collective farm movement.

Here, a comment, in regard to that which was said by colleague Berszczak, comes to mind. It is true that individual farming is a very old category but I would like to recall a different side of the medal. Namely, during a certain period and not only in the 1950's, our educational training advocated the thesis that the peasant farm is an obsolete category. We were showing that under socialism as well as under capitalism, large farms do take shape and that on a small peasant farm there is little mechanization, no progress or social achievements.

In addition, I would like to point out that in the past, ZSL did not present its own position on many basic issues but only motivated or mobilized participation in the implementation of assumptions which originated outside of the Party. Perhaps, in a sense, it is necessary to correct oneself; i.e., that in narrow party groups, interparty groups or in committees, the situation, most likely, looked different. However, this did not reach public opinion and the general ZSL membership body; it was kept hidden for one reason or another. I feel this was not good. The feeling arose within public opinion that, in reality, this

is only a Party which applauds, bows and lacks independence. I am inclined to say that the ZSL idd not exert too much effort in demanding the right to participate in the implementation of mutually accepted assumptions, guidelines or decisions. A classical example of this is the issue of responsibility of governors or deputy governers--members of ZSL--for agricultural policies: none of them were responsible for these policies.

The ZSL never rebuilt its position to the extent held by the Peasant Party for a very short period of time between 1947-1949: I am speaking of participation in holding authority. In the years 1947-1949, this curve was at its highest and then came its gradual decline.

I would like to call attention to yet another matter. We are discussing, here, many, very important issues. However, it seems to me that the implementation of these postulates depends on many, very complex matters--on, among other things, the general, political situation in the country, which is changing very quickly; on the method of comprehending the labor-peasant alliance by PZPR and on many, other factors. We talked and wrote about it [the labor-peasant alliance] constantly. It turns out, that we actually did not finish saying everything--what it is supposed to be based on today and what its structure ought to be. Furthermore, the implementation of many postualtes depends on the ideological and organizational strength of ZSL and on the economic and organizational foundations of this independence. That is why, it seems to me, that an important issue on the road to building the Party's independence is formulation of new documents, declarations and its own program.

And in conclusion, certain polemic accents. It is difficult for me to agree with colleague Gorecki in regard to his evaluation of the anticlerical attitude of the peasant movement. Basically, the peasant movement was never antireligious--it was anticlergy. Anticlergy, in a political sense; in the struggle for influence and in the struggle to reign over souls. The struggle with the clergy was even taken up by very religious activists. Moreover, I feel that the issue should rather be presented that it was not the peasant movement which was the initiator of struggle but that acticists had to defend themselves because they were attacked.

In conclusion, I would like to present only one practical suggestion. Therefore, that the issues, which we are discussing today, should reach areas outside of our environment. In the next round of discussions, we could include those who concern themselves with these issues professionally--people from outside the Party. This is extremely important because these people prepare all kinds of studies and manuals, which go to a wide range of recipients, to student youth and to activists. If such issues will penetrate there, then they will have deep social reverberations and if not, then our, often very interesting discussions will have the air of a senior citizens' meeting club.

Stanislaw Grabowski

Our views and discussions are shaped by the domestic situation and general position of our nation on the political map of the world. I consider this to be, to a certain extent, a kind of limiting factor in this discussion. There is no

doubt that the postwar situation in Poland was not conducive to the full development of the peasant movement in its original, authentic form. Under specific, political and social circumstances, its political influence became radically limited. I tend towards the opinion that the position of a political party cannot be administratively or legally decreed. The position of a given party should be worked out within society and particularly in a socialist society, which is founded on the ideals of liberty, deomcracy and social justice. Of course, certain circumstances may be conducive to the activity of a political party. However, they cannot create hothouse conditions in which distortion of the, so-called, leading role could occur. A political party which wants to lead the nation must also have a partner who sometimes will say "no" and this is for the good of the party in authority. I could see, here, the active role of ZSL which does not conflict with the accepted political system in our country. Besides, in principle, competition must be everywhere--in political as well as in agricultural life. To political party can usurp permanent monopoly or an unconditional percent of proper behavior. Moreover, a political party, which has a decreed position, often believes that it does not have to fight for it. In the end, this gives very negative consequences. This is understandable and the motives for action here, are in my opinion, prosaic.

I would also like to call attention to the usage by many politicians and activists of such words as for example, "socialism" and "deviation". Theoretically, we understand what whese concepts mean. However, in the face of reality, it turns out that we make certain associations and actually many honest people in Poland ask themselves the question why the battle against corruption, theft or moral corruption is often labeled as a battle with the ideals of socialism. Let us, honestly, admit to ourselves that the hitherto existing implementation of the program of socialist development in the country was not entirely so accurate. Unfortunately, ZSL bears responsibility for this also.

I will go on to a perhaps more concrete matter since we could criticize our postwar development of political life for a long time. I would not like to concentrate primarily on program related matters, particularly, of the current program and the ideological program of ZSL. In taking on the elaboration of this program, we ought to take into account those problems which will not be subject to discussion. This includes the acceptance of socialist development in the country as well as that of our allies resulting from the existing socio-political reality.

I consider departure from genuine activity based on the trust of an organization's members and from listening to their opinions and passing over to contrived, politicizing activity as the most negative phenomenon of postwar socio-political life. The second thing, which I consider very negative, is the matter of the resurgence of the hydra of bureaucracy whose activity often comes down to common, economic sabotage. In the current ZSL program, attention should be directed to, above all, efficacy of activity. Besides, this principle pertains to activity in its entirety in regard to economic policy. The existing world of resolutions, statutes and discussions is turning into wishful thinking without a mechanism which would assure their realization, at least in part. That is why, I see here the great role of the solidarity movement which may eliminate this gap to some extent. What I have in mind here, first and foremost, is the phase of communal administration and this for me is vitally important. It should take

a more active part in the entire process of ZSL renewal. This is in my opinion, above all, a humanistic and fully moral process, although, it stands to reason that these types of processes are accompanied by specific negative phenomena and it is no wonder that they should exist in such a situation. Hiding one's head in the sand cannot be permitted in the ideological program of ZSL. In my opinion, there are certain problems about which ZSL should already have a definite and clear opinion. Among these is the attitude towards believers, the Church and trade unions of private farmers. Another issue of extremely vital importance is the killing with our social and economic policy of human initiative which is the foundation of the, so-called, economic movement in every country. We eliminated the old incentive system, having determined it to be too predatory and immoral--a new incentive system was not worked out, however. There simply are no interest groups whose activity would overlap in some way.

In this regard, we must depart from the schematic and primitive, social egalitarianism. Socialism should create equal changes for a start in life but it cannot authmatically ensure equality because this is contrary to the principle of social justice and the principle of eocnomic development. We cannot, therefore, condemn people for their initiative or look for the capitalistic dragon in income disparity.

As far as the participation of ZSL is concerned in the implementation of the economic program, the main area of interest should be agriculture and particularly, individual farming. Here ZSL must express itself politically, more clearly. It is incorrect to say that peasant farming, which will undergo modernization, may lead to the resurgence of capitalism. The main criterion, which will preclude this is, in our conditions, income parity. At the present time, this parity is 25 percent lower (capital consumption per person) in agriculture than in nonagricultural branches.

I would like to touch upon one more issue, which concerns our postwar development, namely, the problem of migration. Political parties, including also the ZSL, should not spread unfounded illusions before people who choose urban life. Experience shows that migrational processes, alongside positive results, often led to the formation of urban ghettos; i.e., towns without stores or cultural institutions; without health services, schools and kindergartens. This kind of policy is difficult to correct because the young generation unequivocally associates every departure from rural surroundings with great advancement.

In conclusion, I would like to call attention to the problem of cadres for ZSL. I consider this area to be the most neglected in our Party. This matter was raised numerous times in the academic community. Nonetheless, ZSL was unable to work out an unequivocal program of activation and surport for this activity.

Zenon Mikolajczyk

I would like to begin with a matter, which in my opinion, is important and which has already been taken up in the discussion, namely, the analysis and evaluation of various sides and aspects of ZSL activity in the past. The findings of such an analysis are needed to define the present and future role of ZSL as a political party. At the Third Plenum, there was even a proposal made, which did not pass anyway, of conducting a clearing of accounts of the former ZSL leadership's

activity in the 1970's. Some asserted that this would be like witch-hunting. If it was the intention of those making the proposal only to seek out the guilty, then the decision made by the plenum was justified. However, it should also be assumed that more noble motives also instigated the ZSL activists who are requesting the clearing of accounts. Through the realization of this postulate, some would like to obtain the assurance for the future that the Party and its leadership will not commit these same mistakes in the future. Such impulses and goals of the activists should be regarded as healthy and beneficial. However, in that case, the clearing of accounts must have a different character--this must be a clearing of problems and matters and not of people. This must be an analysis of what ZSL did at that time and what it did not do and why; what kinds of activities occurring at that time, attitudes on the part of activists and professed values served the development of ZSL and the strengthening of its position and which ones hindered or downright paralyzed ZSL activity, limited its independence or weakened its political role and partnership-like stance in interparty cooperation.

If this type of analysis and evaluation is to be, if only approximately, complete and true, then it cannot refer only to the 1970's. These different sides of ZSL activity, which I already mentioned, ought to be examined during various periods. Among other things, it should be explained why the process of renewal and democratization following October 1956 was not completed; what kinds of forces within the [Peasant] Party as well as their corresponding ideological stands and stereotypes halted the renewal process in a relatively short period of time. This can be researched not only on the basis of documents within the Party but also on the basis of publications and press releases. It can be stated that in every period of ZSL activity, there were limiting tendencies and those which stimulated its growth. It should be ascertained which factors and social mechanisms were conducive to one or the other.

It appears that two elements can be accepted as the principal factor which indicates the social role and position in the State: representing the interests of peasants in government, towards opinion-making centers and towards society in general as well as the area of fulfilling political functions. The objective evaluation of ZSL within the aspect of fulfilling these two functions can be extremely educational. I maintain that in every time period, the Party including its past leadership, have specific gains to record as well as unfulfilled expectations and exigencies. Lately, we have passed from glorifying the output of ZSL to its total criticism. However, one-sided criticism can never be constructive. It is, undoubtedly, easier to evaluate the representation of peasants' interests by ZSL. In this respect, the opinions, demands and goals of peasants may be confronted with the program represented by ZSL at a given time and, above all, the decisions made in the past in the area of agricultural policy may be arranged from the point of view of their advantage for peasants. In other words, it may be ascertained which specific matters were taken care of by the Party on behalf of peasants and which ones were not and why.

It would be more difficult, however, to describe unequivocally the presentation by ZSL of itself as a political party in various periods. Undoubtedly, this feature of ZSL was most obvious during periods of change and renewal. That is when, its leadership took or was forced to take an independent, political stance

on the country's and the State's vital issues. Under normal conditions, ZSL was pushed down from political positions and in part, it pushed itself down. Many activists believe, and rightly so, that the Party's overly detailed concern with agriculture, annihilated, so to say, ZSL as a political party. In the 1970's, an accusation arose that ZSL was agronomical in nature. Is this accusation justified? This is a complex problem. First of all, ZSL's agronomical traits originated considerable earlier. In 1968, at a council session of the active members in Plock, this being a time of political animation for ZSL under the influence of the March occurrences, Stefan Ignar asserted that ZSL cannot be an agronomic party and no doubt, from the time of the Fourth Congress, tendencies of limiting the political role of the Party are intensifying. This limiting of political functions was imposed upon the Party but certain mechanisms, which reduced the role of ZSL to issues involving rural areas and agriculture, developed within itself.

The Peasant Party would often defend itself against assertions and postulates of a general, political nature in party documents.

Before the Sixth Congress, a concept was presented, in publications of WIES WSPOLCZESNA and in documents to this Congress, of a food economy complex and ZSL's effect on this entire complex and not only on the development of agriculture. However, among some activists, doubt and apprehension arose that this constitutes an ideological change of the ZSL character and that in accordance with ZSL regulations, it cannot go beyond the sphere of agriculture and agricultural policy. The expressing of opinions by ZSL on issues pertaining to the entire food economy indicated, therefore, an expansion of the existing formula of ZSL activity.

A second issue is ideological life in the Party. If in the 1960's, especially in the second half, discussions began to be limited to the past of the peasant movement, then in the 1970's anniversary sessions and historical conferences took on the current problems of the peasant movement and its growth perspectives. Furthermore, ideological--in a strict sense of the word--conferences took place where the second one took on the test of searching out its own ideological ZSL identity and defending the position of individual peasant farming in a socialist system. Such discussions took place in defiance of the stand of certain activists who felt that it was sufficient for the Party [Stronnictwo] to accept general socialist foundations and that there is no need to search for a personal, ideological Party identity. Thus, the accusation that only the agronomic aspect was dominant in the Party [Stronnictwo] is not totally true.

T. Kisielewski correctly observed in his publication in the ZIELONY SZTANDAR, entitled, "Original Sin" that the fundamental sources, which limit the political role of ZSL, should be sought in the period, which began with the unification of the peasant movement. Even valid ideological assumptions, which came into being during a period of intense, political struggle for a new, socialist reality in the latter periods of the solidification of socialism, ought to lose their timeliness. On the other hand, certain ideological stereotypes within ZSL, as for example, the concept of the Left and the Right did not succumb to updating and what's more, for many years, some people had as if a monopoly on representing the Left in the peasant movement.

During the next periods, new stereotypes of thinking and acting were acquired which weakened the political position of ZSL. However, in every period of ZSL history, there were also forces within it which fought for survival during difficult times, for raising the prestige of the Party [Stronnictwo] and for its organizational development during more favorable times. During all these periods, with the exception of the years 1953-1955, ZSL exhibited a growth tendency. Therefore, none of these periods should be either totally condemned or glorified.

There is no doubt that the Party [Stronnictwo] and its leadership can be accused of inadequately defending the interests of peasants or not adequately enough. However, it cannot be stated that it [the Party] did not do this at all. Even during the time when ZSL was involved in intense collectivization, often carried out administratively, there would occur a trend in the Party towards a certain, limited defense of peasant farming. For example, at the Second Congress, which deliberated before the October changes, it was stated in one of the presented lecture papers that collective farming cannot be built through the economic destruction of peasant farms. The need for exploiting the still existing production reserves on peasant farms was pointed out.

After 1956, ZSL did not yet talk about the permanence of peasant farming but strongly stressed the issue of voluntarism in the field of rural collectivization. For many activists, voluntarism at this stage, meant the defense of the peasant farm. In nearly every period, ZSL handled matters of one kind or another for agriculture and for rural areas. A certain growth trend may even be noticed of ZSL postulates advanced in the interest of peasants: from the postulate of complete voluntarism in the area of collectivization advanced by the Fourth Plenum NK [Chief Committee] in 1956 to the defense of the permanence of peasant farming at the Eighth Congress; from the postulate of limiting tax progression and compulsory deliveries--presented at the turn of 1956/1957--to the complete elimination of compulsory deliveries at the beginning of the 1970's. At the Sixth Congress, the Party came out with the initiative of introducing a general pension system for farmers. Later, this had definite political repercussions which were unfavorable to the Party. In spite of this, this idea was realized after several years, although to a limited degree. Today, ZSL has come out with new, specifically drawn up principles of granting pensions to farmers. The hitherto existing amounts and principles of according pensions are justly criticized but owing to them, it is now possible to fight for those [amounts and principles] which are more just and approximated to the pensions of workers in other areas of the national economy.

The role of ZSL will continue to depend on not only the situation within the Party but also on general political processes in the country--among others, on whether it will be recognized that in our socialist system, there is a place for a multiparty system or not; on whether we recognize the multiparty system as one of the specific features of our socialism or not? This is the basic issue. After 1956, one of the features of renewal depended on the fact that the role of allied parties increased and, above all, the system of relationships: PZPR-ZSL--changed. The Seventh KC PZPR Plenum of May 1957 gave a new interpretation of the attitudes of the labor party towards the labor movement and the ZSL. This is something, which I do not perceive in the current renewal. In the resolution of the Third Congress, it [the thesis] was stated, while in

the resolution of the Fourth and Fifth Congresses, the thesis was repeated, that PZPR fulfills a leading role along with the participation of ZSL and SD. In the resolutions of the Sixth, Seventh and Eighth Congresses, it was only said that cooperation of PZPR with ZSL and SD is one of the features of our political system but the role of allied parties in leading the nation was not defined there. Therefore, are we Poles placing our stakes on the socialist, multiparty system, which with unanimity of all parties in regard to the fundamental goals, assumed certain differences of position in regard to the tempo and form of implementing these goals? Today, we know that because there were no differences of opinion within the framework of the party system, we did not avoid making mistakes even in obvious matters. In other words, allied political parties should also fulfill the role of a revisionary force.

Another, in my opinion, essential matter is that of the party system relationship to the State and to State authority. Should the party system be contained within the framework of the State system or should it be above it? During the previous period, not only was the party system and, especially, the leading party placed above the State but much was done to degrade the institution of the State in the opinion of society. Among other things, an indication of this was the specific gradation of State and party functionaries in the mass media or even the practice of awarding State honors, etc. No political party can be above the State or totally identify itself with State authorities. Political parties should be the motivating force behind the life of the State; they should strengthen the rank of the State and that of its State authorities; they should inspire a program of State activity and prepare and advance cadres for State authority. The political party authorities and the apparatus should not, as was often the case until now, relieve State authorities, copy them or take over their prerogatives and authoritative characteristics. Such relations: the State--political parties--are in accord with the national traditions and feelings of Poles for whom an independent nation was the highest value and they are also in accord with the sense of democracy in the country. State authorities are appointed by the entire nation, in an indirect manner, of course; whereas party authorities are only appointed by their members, therefore, by a part of society.

Czeslaw Kozak

Please forgive the overly aggressive tone of my remarks. The political situation is not "elegant" but increasingly more brutal--it is full of drama. The discussed, great theories about the position of ZSL in the present situation and directions of its activity are--unfortunately--not very readable for the "average" member. They may be of use to a high level staff. Political goals--and not only political goals--should be layed out (perhaps formulated at first) from the standpoint of a regular Party member. Socialism, a system of social justice, prosperity and similar views can attract people only to the extent that the road to this goal takes in the existing realities.

The vision of peasant life in the future must be derived from the present position of today's peasant since no one (or nearly no one) will agree to march to prosperity barefoot, hungry, in rags and without a roof over their head. The attitude towards the present precludes the credibility of this vision. Therefore, it is

necessary to turn, above all, to the lowest elements of the Party for views on the subject of which road to take in the future. From the sum total of views and goals of the "bottom", the "top" should build a concept. That is also where many theoreticians should verify their present views. It appears from certain publications and statements, that they have not talked with a peasant and have not seen his farm for dozens of years.

Today, in various situations, we talk about many subjects as if we were talking to a blind man about colors. Being a man from the country, I get the impression here, in Warsaw, that nearly nothing is known about the conditions of life of the rural population.

If we do not know how many potatoes they gathered and how much livestock they actually have, then we also do not know about their real income and without this, we do not know about their living conditions. Recent months have confirmed this atrocious ignorance. The authorities astonish us with their misdirected decisions, even though they have statistical services at their disposal which count everything from eggs to poultry.

If we do not change this situation, then the peasant will continue to be neither the object nor the subject in Politics but merely an instrument. This, in my opinion, is more important than divagations whether socialism like gold can be enriched by adding or not adding other alloys because the consumer value of gold may be increased by adding a different metal but a large tub of honey can be ruined with a spoonful of birch tar. Things have also somehow quieted down about the 100 Chinese flowers of the other socialism. What is important, I suppose, is the composition of the said "mixture".

If the view is valid that in order to define the present position of ZSL, the evaluation of the state of the lowest elements of the Party and the position of activists in the community are indispensable, then I will allow myself a small register from this "inventory" in the form of the "bare" facts.

First of all: as a result of technocratic degeneration in the Party, the political activity of peasants gradually died off while the bureaucratic comprehension of the leading role of the Party [PZPR] reduced the political position of ZSL. For example, members of the Party [Stronnictwo] were not even allowed to participate with their green banners and flags in the May 1 manifestation. Those members of the Party who were appointed to executive posts were subject to, a so-called, nomenclature and were approved (in their presence) not by ZSL echelons. Examples were to be found where the acceptance of a ZSL member, even for the position of a "common" worker in any institution was easier if he concealed his affliation on the personnel questionnaire.

Secondly: the essential activity of peasant self-government--the groundwork of ZSL activity was almost entirely reduced. Agricultural circles were completely disabled, rural cooperatives were put under State control (the core of their activity), other elements of self-government (branch unions and associations, water partnerships, various suppliers' "committees", etc.) were incapacitated. National Councils were made subordinate to Party [PZPR] administration. In principle, directors, mayors and governors were excluded from social control.

Third: the active membership was theoretically disarmed, mainly, by so-called, adding on of a theory to someone's views and undertaken decisions. Above all, in recent years, young people did not hear anywhere the mention of Leninism, of State theory and economic rights. However, they did hear a lot--including from their teacher's desks--about fully developed socialism in Poland (in spite of the private sector of agriculture which was left unmentioned), about the classless nature of our State and about the supranational position of the Party [PZPR].

Fourth: conditions for the proper development of the Party [Stronnictwo] were blocked by cutting off the possibility of acting through the intelligentsia. In the 1960's NK ZSL [United Peasant Party Chief Committee] even passed a resolution about blocking admittance of the intelligentsia to ZSL (recruitment was to take place only from among farmers). Party activity was stopped in higher schools, in youth organizations and in many different areas of the national economy. Because of this, "even peasants were in control" but peasant reasoning [common sense] was lacking" (statement from a meeting of a ZSL circle).

Today, departure from these deviations (and there is much more of them than the register is long) even by means of the most fundamental resolution of NK ZSL or of a Congress--will not give an "off-hand" effect and will not wake up the "sleeping knights".

If in a province there is not one Party [Stronnictwo] member in ZSMP [Union of Socialist Polish Youth] authority (from rural areas to the province), then "talk" of recognition, cooperation and attitude towards this organization is the simulation of something. Of what good is the ceremonial of a high level meeting of ZSL leadership with the leadership of ZSMP if there is not even one chairman of the provincial ZSMP board in the country and if cooperation is to take place anew through ZSL members.

Despite the total criticism of issues, which I have touched upon, the actual departure from old practices is not easy even for those who demand such departure. For example, I attended a joint session of KG PZPR [Main Committee of the Polish United Workers Party] and GK ZSL [Main Committee of the United Peasant Party] in a leading, so-called, town-rural parish in the province of Kielce. The topics were the current tasks of both echelons until the end of 1981. In a rather lengthy report paper and resolution of over a dozen pages, I did not find the terms "party organization", "ZSL circle", "Party [ZSL] members" or "members of the Party [PZPR]". This entire document was saturated with matters concerning the yield from a hectare, fertilizers, number of animals, reserves in agriculture, tasks for cooperatives, service institutions, the work of agricultural services, agricultural circles, etc., etc. and not one sentence about themselves or their work [organizational work].

The "lower end" of the Party [PZPR] and of ZSL was created mainly to fulfill the role of a specific type of social control and not to be an inspirator of activities in the community because community initiative was not consistent with the technocratic model of administration. Here is a "giant" of a problem.

"Deafness" on the part of the authorities and our echelons to the problems of the rural community must have caused a severs "clash" and collision between that which came from the top and rural reality; all the more, that it is the rural community which is the cradle of various forms of social action and collective decisions of natural cooperation. A peasant in a rural area, on his farm is not a city dweller in an apartment building who does not need his neighbor for years and to whom he does not even need to say good-morning. A peasant, by nature, hates to feign work. Has anyone ever seen a peasant [farmer] go into the field to sleep in the shade or lie hidden, sleeping behind a bush? The feigning of socio-political work, fictional and simulated information and declarations caused much havoc in rural communities and parishes. No one can hide there from his true countenance.

Wise advice is verified immediately not by reading theoretical works but through conformity with the situation of one's own farm and community. Some people delight in the problems connected with the "solidarity" version of peasant self-government. Various theories and predictions are thought of for rural Solidarity itself (I am simplifying the name) as well as horoscopes for ZSL within this context. Despite my many years of experience in the evaluation of social phenomena, I have never "seen" a correct, objective evaluation which came about from the fanaticism of its authors.

First--some digression. At one time, the slogan of Peasant Party members: "the peasant movement was born of the revolt of the peasant masses against mistreatment and degradation", found its full acceptance in the Party [Stronnictwo]. Peasants created their own political parties (although with varying results) in their own defense. There still exists the instinct of organizing self-defense within the peasants. In years past, their own party (ZSL) let them down to a large extent; they were also let down by the allied working class; the labor-peasant government did not fulfill their expectations; their self-government was destroyed.

The first elements of Solidarity had their start, as a rule, in communities with glaring incompetence on the part of local authorities and in conflicting political elements (ZSL and PZPR). They were most often founded with the help of activists from outside of the community who took advantage of the peasants' discontent. However, the subject was taken up, most often, by the more affluent farmers who enjoyed many privileges and preferential treatment in the past (specialized farms, for example). The attitude of the wealthy farmer in the vicinity of a collective farm being set up on not untainted soil or a PGR [State Farm] being expanded in terms of area, does not require sociological research. Next to this, we find the farmers at whose cost farming which was not theirs was being developed. Therefore, it is not difficult to imagine the attendance [as published].

Rural Solidarity is the "child" of political and social incompetence on the part of political parties and administrative authorities in rural areas. The ordinary farmer will support even ideas which are not his own if this support will help him to solve more effectively problems involving his farm and the welfare of his family. We should not be angry with this "child"; we should, however start bringing it up so that it will serve its community for rebellion against degradation also gave it birth. Discussion on the subject of the "union profile"

of this organization and educing from it a political sphere with which ZSL would occupy itself--that is an assignment for philosophers not for peasants.

Personally, I would be very grateful for an intelligible definition, comprehensible to the average "mortal" as to how far social activity in a union extends and where politics begins. Even if such a philosopher were to be found, then such a definition would still have no significance in rural areas. It has to be taken into account that peasants discuss and raise their own matters everywhere, at every meeting and in every organization to which they belong. They do not separate politics from economics and from the sphere of the union. After all, in rural communities, it is difficult to conduct a meeting, even of the fire department or a school meeting without talk of fertilizers, machinery and farm hands.

Every ZSL chapter even one which has the most perfect political program in the Party [Stronnictwo] must take this into account in the practice of everyday activity. Otherwise, the discussions will constantly be "off the subject". The most theoretically ideal testimonies of for example, the irreplaceable role of agricultural circles are worth nothing if in the rural area, the said circle is fiction.

Therefore, what suggestions are there in regard to the subject of the position and role of ZSL in the present situation?

First of all, eliminating from the practice of interparty cooperation in the rural parish, all strata which limit party independence of the Party [Stronnictwo]; departure from formality and pretenses. The practice of this cooperation must carry more traits of interparty coalition and less administrative dependence on communal echelons of PZPR in decision making.

The groundwork of ZSL activity must be a reactivated and modernized peasant self-government and social organizations acting in rural areas. Members of the Party [Stronnictwo] acting in these elements must be inspired in accordance with the class character of ZSL. The Party [Stronnictwo] is not a Marxist party but it should support the program of the Marxist party in the interest of rural areas everywhere joint effort is indispensable.

The Party represents the political interests of rural areas in which peasants are "incorporated" into the general stream of building a socialist system. Therefore, it cannot assume that it will not have opponents to its activity. Striving for a completely nonconflicting position blurs the contours of the peasant party. Examples of this may be situations in which certain activists begin to compete with each other to be in the good graces of rural Solidarity without so much as a question about the attitude of the other side towards ZSL or soliciting the favors of the clergy, even though many priests express complete indifference (if not negation).

The effort of the central leadership of the Party should, above all, be directed towards "unblocking" the mentioned in the beginning, brakes of activity. These topics should be the organizational plan of undertakings in regard to local echelons.

Izydor Adamski

The editorial staff gave the participants of the discussion, devoted to the role of ZSL in a changing socio-political life, several fundamental questions. They can all be reduced to a common denominator: what has been the role of ZSL in the party system until now and what can and should it be in that party system or more broadly speaking--in Poland's political system.

In the ponderings over this topic, it is assumed--this was voiced in the title of the discussion ("The Place of ZSL in the System of Socio-Political Forces in Poland")--that there exists a changeability of the factors which define the role of ZSL. This is correct, however, some sort of influence of ZSL activity, as one of the vital elements of the political system in Poland, on change in the socio-political life of the country, should also be assumed. The period from August 1980 provides certain proofs of the existence of ZSL influence on socio-political life. Three periods can even be distinguished here: the first one--from the beginning of the labor protest in July--August 1980 up to the Eighth ZSL Congress when the Party [Stronnictwo] played an active role in creating a concept for coming out of the crisis through understanding and dialogue as well as the creation of mechanisms for holding and controlling authority which would correspond to the goals of the class of laborers and peasants who are conscious of their role; the second period--from the Eighth Congress to the Third Plenum of NK ZSL when the still mounting, rank and file program and organizational proposals and in certain cases exceeding the capacity of the program of the Eighth Congress, had a weakening effect on the credibility of ZSL, particularly, on that of its management in the feelings of peasants and Peasant Party members; and lastly, the third period begun by the Third, May Plenum of NK ZSL, which characterized itself with a change in the approach of ZSL management to new, social occurrences in rural areas, especially in regard to peasant trade unions and one [the change] which is based on their recognition and the search for mutual planes of action. Therefore, in analyzing this period, how can the influence of ZSL on socio-political life be described? For me, there is no doubt that during the whole time, the United Peasant Party had a stabilizing effect on political moods; it gave its support to the Polish United Workers Party in the implementation by it [PZPR]--in after all, difficult conditions--of the concept of a political solution to the conflict; ZSL had a clear restraining effect on the display of radical tendencies, which expressed themselves by attacking PZPR in rural areas, through socialized ownership in agriculture and by agricultural circles, in the demagoguery of those acting here and there in the peasant union movement--thereby, suffering [ZSL] in certain social circles, temporary political losses. After all, it was not by accident that a part of the demogogically acting organizers of the peasant trade union movement as well as the middle-class environment opting for "Solidarity" branded ZSL as a conservative force in the process of renewal. I believe, however, that certain losses which the Party [Stronnictwo] incurred because of this were a necessary price for the inopportune party line of the United Peasant Party as an ally and partner of PZPR as well as a contribution to the defence of the democratic line before being pushed onto the devious paths of political quarreling [awanturnictwo polityczne].

In giving consideration to the role of ZSL in a changing socio-political life in Poland and by presenting my opinion on this issue right from the beginning, I would, nevertheless, like to approach this subject differently, namely, I would like to express what I believe to be "unchanging" in socio-political life and what should remain as such. I am placing this word in quotation marks because in socio-political life, there is nothing as absolutlly unchangeable as, for example, the standard for a meter [model metra] but--I believe, there are principles considered as unchanging in the sense in which this can be referred to socio-political phenomena. I would think that there is a certain number of such invariables. I will name them: 1) the socialist system as a form of organization of socio-economic life based on socializing the basic means of production and as a form of holding authority in the State by the labor class in alliance with peasants and the intelligentsia; 2) the specific role of the Marxist-Leninist party which is based on political leadership in the State carried out with the participation of allied parties--ZSL and SD: 3) the alliance of Poland with the USSR And with nations of the socialist union justified by reasons of State and the nation. Perhaps,one or two invariables could be added, however, this will not change the heart of the matter when describing the nature of the proposed changes in the functioning of socio-political life.

I contend that in considering the role of ZSL in the political life of the country, it should be admitted that for the Party [ZSL], the said "invariables" are that role, if it [ZSL] wants to remain within the socialist, political system. I consider this statement to be necessary even if I should face the reservation that, after all, there are no voices in ZSL which question these principles I am doing so, since voices can be heard from the outside which lead Peasant Party members to the temptation of violating these principles. The counterbalance of these suggestions is political realism as well as the class consciousness of peasants, which was clearly evident in the past as it is now, in the months of democratic renewal.

Political principles or be it "invariables", which the United Peasant Party should use for its guidelines, were, after all-someone would say-binding for the past 30 years or more and yet this did not protect the entire party system in Poland, including ZSL, from deformation and mistakes. I believe that it should be stated that the main reason for this was that the idea of the leading role of PZPR was falsely implemented which was based on identifying the role of the Party [PZPR] with the role of its narrow, controlling groups on the central level and on intermediate levels as well as that the principle of the genuine participation of ZSL in the holding of authority was, in fact--as in the case of SD--not being implemented. This state intensified as the PZPR echelons increasingly gained entry into the jurisdiction of the organs of State and economic authority and ignored the exerting of influence on solving matters through representative organs (the Sejm; national councils; organs of agricultural, labor and collective self-government). In this system, the leadership of allied parties was only consulted or even only informed about decisions while their members who fulfilled functions in various social organs only formally "voted on" these decisions like the members of PZPR and SD who had a seat there. This is how the waning of ZSL functions occurred and in a broader sense--the functions of political party members.

The active role of PZPR, ZSL and SD is possible in a party system and in the fulfillment of authority, when the possibility of differences of opinion is allowed for in methods of implementing strategic goals which are mutual. These differences always occurred regardless of whether they were officially displayed or not. They resulted and continue to result from the social base on which parties are founded. PZPR acts in all social environments but primarily in the working environment; ZSL functions mainly among peasants; SD--among the urban middle class. PZPR has the theoretically greatest chance of expressing, with considerable proximity, the essence of nationwide interests due to the rather complete, social cross-section of membership ranks and also as a result of ideological bonds with the international labor movement and particularly with the communist parties of socialist countries. However, Polish society is not and for a long time to come, will not be classless. There exist differences of class interests and at times (during years of difficulty), they even increase. If these differences are not revealed in public life and negotiation of ways to overcome them does not take place, then this threatens with wrong decisions being made and carries the risk of social tensions. An obvious example is the one-sided industrial concept of Poland's accelerated economic growth in the 1970's which led to collosal neglect in agriculture and in the sphere of sercices. Would this have been possible if the role of ZSL and SD had been different during this period?

Poland's historical experience teaches that a socially uncontrolled method of holding authority always leads to mistakes and distortions. In the fulfillment by the Party [PZPR] of the leading political role, there should exist--and this is the direction, in part at least, in which the discussion went in PZPR--the following mechanisms which strengthen the proper implementation of this principle: the first one--the strengthening of democracy within the Party [PZPR] itself (this was discussed heavily in the Party lately); second--the correcting role of allied parties in regard to PZPR and conversely, of PZPR to allied parties; third--expanding the influence as well as participation in the fulfillment of authority by citicens who are nonparty members and who form, together with political party members, an alli ce of forces of accord on the level of national interest and reasons of State. I am not leaving out here, the role of trade unions--labor and peasant--however, I see their function on a different plane of settling inte ests.

Sometimes the question is asked, whether the party system in Poland exhausts the gamut of political movements and also a second question, whether the concept of a mutually correcting role of allied parties is sufficient for the proper functioning of political life and whether thought should not be given to legalizing opposition--"constructive" opposition, as some have termed it. My point of view on the first matter is as follows. The triparty system in Poland corresponds to the class system of our society--after all, it is only on the class basis that political parties can develop and function. In Poland, there are no classes other than laborers-workers, peasants, the intelligentsia and a few, urban, middle classes--private trade and small merchants connected with the system of socialized economy. All other, theoretical bases for political parties other than the class system which exists in Poland (for example, on the basis of the Catholic doctrine or models of social-democracy) would lead to a struggle for the reversal of the structural [regime] processes which were carried out some 37 years ago.

A possible opposition, even though it would be "constructive" could contribute to this cause even more markedly. Such activity, irrespective of the intent of those who brought up the idea, would serve those forces, which are conducting a battle with socialism on a worldwide scale, in carrying it [the battle] over to the Polish soil, which undoubtedly would weaken our country.

Therefore, I believe that there exist realistic methods of improving the party system in Poland without these politically suspect reforms. Realistic methods, that is--let us repeat--the democratization of life within PZPR, which was taken up with such force during the period of discussions preceding the Ninth PZPR Congress, as well as restoring allied, active, partnership functions to the United Peasant Party and to the Democratic Party.

I would like to formulate in a few arguments how I imagine the role of ZSL in this system. First of all, the rule should be that ZSL possesses its own program of activity just as PZPR and SD possesses it. It is understandable that in Poland a program must be implemented in one or another area of life or in general. The government must know, for example, which program to implement. This program should come about as a result of interparty discussions, agreements and compromises. Political parties ought to have equal rights to drawing up and announcing their programs, even though their political importance varies--and this should be taken into account. In returning yet to the matter of ZSL's own program, it should be said that it ou ht to take into account both the interests of peasants and those of the nation in general. Departure at some point from the defense of peasant interests may come into play only when the good of the nation as a whole advocates this in an open and convincing manner. It is the obligation of ZSL to constantly observe the methods if implementing the joint program established in a partnership-like fashion. The rule of thumb should rather be dissatisfaction with the implementation of the program. Experience proves that by serving well the interests of rural areas and of peasants and by fighting for their interesss, ZSL also serves all of society well.

In conclusion, a few words about the ideology of ZSL. The peasant movement has formulated ideological principles during the decades of its activity, deriving from the class experiences of peasants, such principles as the evaluation of people and their role within categories of their attitude towards work and towards institutions of the State as well as from general democratic ideology--a sense of justice, democracy and animosity towards racial prejudice. The peasant movement accepted and adapted, throughout its history, many, new principles, as long as they corresponded to the interests of peasants. This is the way it was with the concept of the labor-peasant alliance, which was accepted very early; it was this way with the principle of expropriating large landowners without compensation or with the concept of industrialization; however, not instead of the agrarian concept of economic development but together with it. During the years of People's Poland, the peasant movement would come into contact with the assumptions of the theory and practice of socialism and it was also from this source that it drew and still continues to draw its ideological inspirations. This is understandable. After all, there does exist something like the ideological subsumption of social movements to the political systems of the State within which these movements function. This does not mean that the United Peasant Party is becoming

a Marxist party. This is neither necessary nor possible. The ideological basis of the ZSL program and activity is the accumulated wealth of peasant political thought elaborated and verified constantly for over 80 years of its activity and including also experiences from the period of its participation in the building of the socialist system in Poland.

Witold Lipski

In accordance with our custom in these types of discussions, my presentation, although being the last one in the series, is not an attempt at summing up. We are treating our meeting as the inauguration of a discussion which will proceed for several months. In my statement, I wish to assume an attitude towards several problems which I consider to be important and current.

In this discussion, one thing is indisputable--namely, that we have taken up an extremely complex subject. It will be difficult to find, already today, some sort of common stand on many issues. Some matters will be absolutely difficult to define. It seems to me that, for example, the leading role of the Party [PZPR] alongside the independence and sovereignty of allied parties does not lend itself to winning the point when the laws of formal logic are applied. It would make sense in a situation in which it [the leading role of PZPR and concurrent existence of independent parties] would have been achieved as a result of democratic elections or as a result of the obtainment by PZPR of a true majority in all representative organs which will decide the structure of authority. If such will not be the case, then it will be necessary to employ political criteria and search for solutions by means of, the well-known method in economics, of gradual approachment [coming closer together] or simply put--life must outpace theory. These are new solutions in the system and theory of socialism and in the practicing of socialist construction and that is why I do not, currently, see the possibility of the clear presentation of this matter.

Secondly, of extreme importance is that which was taken up in the discussion and initiated by colleague Kisielewski--namely, the evaluation of the past. Indeed, today's situation is the product of many years of practicing socio-political activity in our country. At the present time, we already have much experience. Chairman Ignar reminded us of this during the People's Holiday: during a period of social unrest when public feeling decides about political solutions, the role of the Party [Stronnictwo] increases. This is followed by stabilization and the role of the Party decreases. That is why, I believe that it will not be possible to detach the evaluation of the Party [Stronnictwo] from the overall situation. The following question is fundamental here: To what extent does the Party [Stronnictwo] bear responsibility for the present crisis? We are between two extremes here: either conveniently blame everything on the, so-called, overall situation and then we do not bear responsibility for anything but we degrade ourselves or we will detach ourselves from reality by saying that we could have influenced the course of events. I believe that this was a period in which a true ZSL activist could demonstrate his own position, protest and gain satisfaction from acting individually. On the other hand, it does not seem possible to me that in the conditions in which the Party [Stronnictwo] acted, it could have avoided, as a political party, the majority of those mistakes to which PZPR was the main contributor. This is a delicate situation but extremely vital. Here as well, searching for and some kind of comprehensive analysis of the past are greatly needed.

In coming back to the evaluation of the Party [Stronnictwo], I would like to take up this issue: besides opportunistic elements, which appear in every party and in society, there is always a certain number of people who want to participatio actively--they simply have that need. When there is no freedom of choice, they must somehow adjust to the reality of things. Very many Peasant Party activists felt--in not accepting these realities emotionally--that in this system in which we lived, even under conditions of very limited independence, organizational pluralism is already a plus; that any form of limiting the monopoly of Party [PZPR] authority is a positive value for social life since difficulties, mistakes and deforsations resulted from this monopoly. In this complex situation, the dilemma with which many activists were faced was understandable: how to accept the limited independence of the Party [ZSL]? Naturally, I am putting this in very brief form.

I am of the opinion that one of the basic sources of distortions and deformations in our entire political, economic and social life is departure from the concept of a Polish road to socialism. This concept, which is the great accomplishment of the Polish Left and primarily of PPR [Polish Workers Party], was implemented for a certain period of time--until 1948. The program of PPR, from the time of the Occupation, is a program of historical dimensions in and of itself and particularly, if realities are taken into account at that time, dominant theory of scientific [Marxian] socialism is taken into account. Misfortunes began from the moment when that which was the greatest attraction in the program of Polish communists was considered as heresy. This had its effect on the peasant movementaand on everything that happened in the country. At the same time, we must admit to ourselves that this problem is not simple. This was a question of and still is a question of the interpretation of the important principles of Marxism-Leninism. A digression: I do not know if you remember that in Hungary in the 1960's, a very interesting discussion went on about the evaluation of folk [peasant] writers. Basically, this concerned the analysis of the peasant movement and its role in a socialist State. It was clearly stated at that time, that the elimination of peasant parties was Hungary's great achievement. And also several years ago, during the 30-year anniversary of WRL [Hungarian People's Republic], in a comprehensive, official pronouncement which showed the achievements of that country, the defeat of the multiparty system was among those which were at the top of the list--thus, the achievement of such a state in which only one party exists.

If we want to carry out an honest evaluation of the attitude of people who acted in the peasant movement, then we must remember that the central active membership and activists in the Party [Stronnictwo] were conscious of the total threat to the very existence of the Party [Stronnictwo]. There was always the fear that the kind of transformation and internal dismantling would take place which would turn it into only an empty form.

Another also very grave matter: in the sphere of genuine, peasant movement patriots, it was assumed that if we want to exist and if we want to fight effectively for equal rights relations with PZPR, then we should not be inferior as far as our program, ideology and political awareness are concerned. In my opinion, there were noble intentions which issued forth from erroneous premises because in

my opinion the Party [Stronnictwo] only has a reason to exist as long as it is not "a smaller PZPR" with the same program and ideology. It seems to me that these are matters which require a more thorough, unrestricted analysis. We will simply, then, be able to conduct an evaluation of the past and the role of individual activists in a more objective and honest manner.

The next problem, which is justifiably emphasized in the discussion and which, in my opinion, foredooms the character of the Party [Stronnictwo], is its attitude towards the durability of peasant farming. After all, according to the prevailing interpretation of Marxism-Leninism, peasant farming is doomed to extinction, interferes with the bringing about of a uniform character of society, constitutes a basis for the rebirth of capitalism, etc. Only when we bear this in mind, can we evaluate fairly how great a phenomenon was the fact that with all the distortions, imperfections and inconsistencies, the thesis about the durability of the peasant farm was never abandoned by ZSL. There is no exaggeration, whatsoever, in the statement that the mere existence of the Party [ZSL] contributed to the preservation of family farms in Poland. If ZSL could not log any other merits, then that one warrants its place in history. In considering this issue, it is not only important what the Party [ZSL] did for peasant farming and agriculture but also what it did not allow during various stages of development--even though there already were definite designs.

In a Joint Declaration of PZPR and ZSL from 1957, it was decided to return to the program from the first period after the war and from that time on, the existence of peasant farming was not frontally attacked, despite various practices. In my opinion, this already was a great achievement. However, there existed a divergence between theory and practice and the effect was such that agricultural secretaries in party committees were our allies while ideological and first secretaries, not infrequently--our adversaries. It appears that what we did within the framework of agricultural policy, with all its imperfections, has a more general meaning. This was, after all, some sort of defense--often ineffective but not in vain--of that which in the history of People's Poland is extremely important, namely, the concept of the Polish road to socialism.

The next issue. It can be assumed, I should think, that in civilized or developed countries, there occurs the aspiration for greater freedom; respect for human rights is demanded more strongly. This is a universal and, I suppose, permanent trend if one can talk about permanence in history. That which is happening today in Poland is, therefore, also a reflection of more universal trends--this should be remembered. Of course, there may be intervals in such trends. What is sought here are constitutional or institutional guarantees, however, I do not believe in the effectiveness of these types of guarantees. I am not coming out against institutional guarantees, however, I feel that a truly deciding factor is the awareness of the masses and the attitude of the fundamental classes of a given society. When people are active, everything is all right. However, when there is no activity, then even with the best and the most liberal constitution, there can be labor camps and things which are simply unimaginable can be done; indeed, ruling by means of terror is possible.

I believe that the further development of the Party [ZSL] depends, above all, on whether in all of society and in the labor and peasant class, active attitudes and striving for the implementation of the process of socialist renewal will maintain and reinforce themselves. Naturally, ZSL cannot be only the resultant of a general situation. It must have ambitions of influencing the activity of, at least, the peasant class. The thesis can be presented that the prestige of ZSL will depend on the extent to which it can currently become a driving force in the process of renewal, in rural areas, at least.

The decisions of the Eighth Congress concerning the nationwide character of ZSL and its ideological and organizational sovereignty confirmed in the triparty Declaration of Cooperation between PZPR, ZSL and SD; the atmosphere of peasant, social activity--all of this creates the basis for remaining by the Party [ZSL] of the role of a vital element in the triparty system of People's Poland. However, automatic action cannot be expected here. As to long-range trends, they are, I should think, easy to define. They must fit in and be adequate for those general trends, which are the product of the level of socio-economic development and awareness shaped by the development of education, particularly, by means of domestic and foreign mass communication. On the other hand, today's major problem is based on passing on to a stage of some sort of stability.

The formulation was presented here that at a certain time "applying the brakes" may be a positive action. I agree totally since I feel that halting that which was begun in July and August may be accomplished only in one way. I believe that in view of such a great committment on the part of society, particularly that of workers, any attempts whatsoever of crushing the renewal process and returning to the old, do not stand a chance. I am overlooking the activity of outside forces on which we have no influence. It seems to me that a real threat to that which we call the process of renewal is leading it to--according the old Roman method--"ad absurdum" [absurdity]. This means rushing it and making demands which are impossible to implement. Only in such a case, can the opponents of renewal have any kind of a chance of halting it. This is why I believe that from a certain time, in Poland, the skillful guidance of the renewal process and not amplifying it was sound activity, although one which did not receive applause. Sharp criticism--this was greatly needed some years ago and those people who did this played a positive role at that time. However, from a certain moment in minimum [w minimum], there is a different attitude.

Today, we are aware that a factor, which can thwart all our plans and is already beginning to thwart them is the state of our economy and an increasing decline in economic activity and efficacy of its management. In such extreme situations, moods become very unsteady. I am afraid that I even suspect whether the opponents of renewal perhaps do not have some part in this because certain occurrences are, indeed, very alarming. It is difficult to hope for solutions by the system when we are not even capable of implementing something as prosaic as the ration card system which should be one of the simplest tasks for the government apparatus. If we are unable to stock milk in such a difficult situation of the food market, then it simply is bad.

I see a threat for the Party [ZSL] in the underestimation of economic problems. It is true that we were too occupied with certain agronomic matters. The Party [ZSL] was becoming too "technocratic". In spite of this, we should give our undivided attention to economic matters today. In principle, the thesis is justified that it is not production but the human being that should be the center of attention. However, during this specific moment in our history, excessive exposure of this thesis is dangerous for the Party [ZSL] because it is socially harmful and then, the accusations would be justified that if we want to play some kind of role, we must take care of not only matters which concern the class which we represent primarily but we must also contribute to the solving of nationwide problems.

And the next problem. I believe that the Eighth Congress made a very great change in one area. Namely, it declared the transformation of the Party [ZSL] from a regional party into a nationwide party, which has enormous significance for the future development of ZSL. This was executed in a resolution while a new statute defines this even more precisely. It seems to me that while criticizing the Congress, we should not forget about this very important achievement.

And the last remark--pertaining to the attitude towards "Rural Solidarity". Hence, as far as I am concerned, I believe that the majority of our activists in rural areas and rural parishes are unhappy with what was happening in the rural community; unhappy with the statute of the Party [ZSL], which was binding in the previous period, and that it is sufficient to carry out changes in the program and in the statute as well as to secure a new declaration about cooperation so that the great, suppressed energy could show itself and start to put things in order in rural areas and in rural parishes. In connection with this, I presumed that it would be the ZSL elements, which acted in rural areas and for which the resolution of the Congress and declaration about cooperation of political parties created new conditions for activity, which would stand at the head of the renewal process in rural areas. My mistake--as I see it at this moment--was based on the fact that I did not realize that with all the restrictions, disadvantages of ZSL and its degradarion, our activists or more precisely--a considerable part of them--of the lowest rank were, nevertheless, incorporated to some degree into the local "establishment" and in the eyes of the rural community, they bear the responsibility for all the distortions of which there were so many. At the same time, these activists were not at all eager to participate in the renewal. The result of this was that an effective battle against distortions could be undertaken only by people from the outside or those who belonged to the Party [ZSL] but were not active and did not hold any positions and in connection with this saved face in regard to the entire rural community. This is the essence of the matter.

This state is extremely dangerous and sad for our Party [ZSL]. Let us, then, not make a new mistake. "Solidarity" may perhaps really play a big role in rural areas. However, it must take up definite action. It is not necsssarily true that if you have a program, then everything will proceed automatically. The role of the Party [ZSL] depends on helping the sound forces of "Solidarity"--after all, there are all kinds of people there too and furthermore, they do not always know how to function. However, they should not be blamed because these are often young, inexperienced people. Cooperation between "Solidarity" and the Party [ZSL]

is in the interest of both sides, of the entire rural community and the entire nation. And it seems to me that we should devote a lot of attention to maintaining contact, discussion and cooperating. The official report from the meeting of the leadership of ZSL and OKZ NSZZ RI "Solidarnosc" [District Union Committee of the Independent, Self-governing Trade Union RI] Solidarity from 25 June of this year indicates that there are many levels of cooperation. However, I would like to warn against excessive optimism that now everything will automatically begin to develop because, unfortunately, in spite of what we want to believe, in a situation of supply shortages, regulation and with the existence of prices which are detached from economic principles, etc., the rural community was also subjected, to a large extent, to moral and social degradation. The battle with this will not be easy.

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CHIEF OF ENGINEER TROOPS CITES ACHIEVEMENTS

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 24, 25, 26, 27 Dec 81 p 2

[Interview with Brig Gen L. Raznowiecki by Marek Kwiatkowski]

[Text] Engineer troops play a significant role in the whole range of labor services provided by the armed forces on behalf of the national economy. The Chief of Engineer Troops, Brig Gen Leopold Raznowiecki, talked with a PAP reporter about the work done this year by these forces in serving the needs of the nation and its people.

Soldiers assigned to engineer units worked with great dedication on various campaigns during which they were able to put to use their knowledge and skills on behalf of the national economy and the general public. Working all over the country they built, among other things, 29 bridge installations with a total span width of 1,704 running meters; last year 9 bridges were built with the help of combat engineers. The value of all this labor came to Zl 22 million. Forces of the Warsaw Military District put in an especially large amount of bridge construction work. The never-ending campaign of many years standing dedicated to the removal of the vestiges of war--explosive and hazardous objects--from urban and rural areas continued during 1981. Sixty-one mine clearing and removal patrols were at work in all parts of the country this year and they succeeded in locating, removing, and destroying more than 165,000 duds and unexploded munitions. Most of these dangerous life- and property-threatening objects were found, among other places, in Katowice, Opole, and Wroclaw provinces as well as in the environs of Grudziadz, Gryfice, and Kamien Pomorski.

On many occasions during the course of this year combat engineers and other engineer troop specialists assisted in flood relief and ice control projects and damage control work necessitated by other natural disasters. For example, at the end of February and beginning of March 1981 a battle was being fought against ice floes and floodwaters along the Bug River, especially in the vicinity of the township of Hanna where engineer troops from the Warsaw Military District were called into service. In August of 1981 units of the Silesian Military District rushed into action in connection with summer flooding along the Odra, Nysa, Bober, and Kaczawa rivers. In December, after martial law had already been declared, soldiers serving in engineer units of the Pomeranian and Silesian military districts joined in the battle against floods caused by the Warta, Notec, and Parseta rivers

and helped to break up the ice jams around the "Skawina" power plant. During these campaigns soldiers helped with the evacuation of citizens, livestock, and property from inundated areas, delivered supplies of food, water, and animal feed, and secured and shored up damaged flood-control levees. Altogether this year 1,500 soldiers serving with engineer troops took part in these various campaigns.

In the course of lending a helping hand to the agricultural sector combat engineers worked on the harvesting of grain crops and potatoes. They also did repair work on farm machinery and loaned out 23 mobile repair workshops to the agricultural sector.

Nor did our service fail to give a good account of itself in the services rendered by the military on behalf of the forestry industry in the course of reclaiming timber from windfall and pest-infested tracts. Teams of soldiers from engineer units cut approximately 10,000 cubic meters of timber in our forests and hauled 4,500 cubic meters of lumber to storage areas. Twenty field gang saws were put into service in order to cut lumber for construction purposes.

The civicmindedness of engineer troop soldiers was also evidenced in various kinds of projects initiated out of an awareness of the needs of certain segments of society. For example, one of the subunits of the 2d Warszawska Combat Engineer Brigade came to the aid of the Home for Blind Children in Lasky near Warsaw by laying the foundations for a school building in just 2 days. Warm bonds of friendship were forged between this unit and the staff and charges of this institution.

11813
CSO: 2600/208

ELBLAG NATIONAL DEFENSE COMMITTEE COMMISSIONER INTERVIEWED

Gdansk DZIENNIK BALTYCKI in Polish 27 Jan 82 p 4

[Interview with Col Jozef Caputa, KOK [National Defense Committee] Commissioner, Elblag Voivodship by Miroslaw Dymczak; date and place not given]

[Text] Col Jozef Caputa has exercised the function of commissioner of the National Defense Committee [KOK] in the Elblag Voivodship since the declaration of marital law. He comes from Podbeskidzie, and has been a pilot for 32 years. After completing studies at the famous Deblin "Eaglets' School," he served in various capacities in air force units within the country. He is currently working in air force affairs at the headquarters of the Pomorze Military District.

[Question] Let me begin our interview with a question on the subject of the development of the situation during the first hours that martial law was in force.

[Answer] I received an order to go to Elblag and, of course, I came here immediately. The first hours of that memorable Sunday of 13 December 1981 were taken up by the execution of orders issued by the Military Council of National Salvation [WRON]. They concerned issues connected with the militarization of some economic and municipal units, as well as undertakings to ensure law, order and discipline.

The most difficult moments were those that we and voivodship residents experienced on Monday, 14 December. This was the first working day under martial law conditions. The people, the work forces of many enterprises, were still in a state of shock. Thus, our first task was to explain to them that the primary motivation underlying the temporary restriction of civic freedoms by the WRON was to put an end to anarchy and to draw the country back from the brink of the precipice.

After 2 hours, municipal transportation began to function in Elblag. Trade became somewhat confused--to add to everything there was the sudden buying up of milk and bread. The situation became critical in Zamech right after the end of the second shift, i.e., just after the 22nd hour. We assured the part

of the work force remaining in the plant that it would not be repressed, and that everyone could return home without fear. They believed us, they took down banners themselves, and they also removed the barriers blocking entrance into the plant themselves. But then the problem emerged that the hour was already late and the militia curfew was in effect. So we tried to get some cars. People were not sure whether they should get into them, because they did not know where they would be taken from Zamech. What were we to do? The next day, Tuesday, 15 December there was some relaxation of the tension: the Zamech workers became convinced that in fact no one who stayed on at the plant during the previous day had been interned.

[Question] On the following days, the situation clearly stabilized.

[Answer] Indeed. The work forces of all plants and enterprises without exception showed up for work. From every quarter, reports came in and are still coming in about the radical improvement of discipline. The numerous meetings we have held and which we are continuing to hold confirm our conviction that the inhabitants of the Elblag voivodship are demonstrating greater and greater sympathy for the WRON decision. They are aware that we are at work on business of interest to all. The 24 December statement of Gen W. Jaruzelski was received very favorably, especially his assurances that there would be no return to pre-August practices in economic, political and social life in our country, and that the course of renewal will not only be maintained but deepened.

[Col J. Caputa continues]: I would like to emphasize very strongly the great maturity demonstrated by the leadership cadre of most voivodship enterprises during the first and the next hours, and then the days and weeks. We did not observe even one case of indolence of formalism. Many directors, chairmen and managers literally doubled their efforts to guarantee the needed supplies, efficient transportation and the speedy elimination of trouble. The attitude of the management of the Zamech Wielki Proletariat [Great Proletariat] Furniture Plants and that of the Automobile Fittings Plant management in Elblag is worthy of special recognition.

[Question] For some time, meetings and gatherings of the work forces in plants and enterprises have been participated in by LWP [Polish People's Army] officers. What has been discussed at these meetings?

[Answer] During the first period, right after 13 December, people most often asked: what next? They feared greater restrictions. With the passage of time and the moderation of those restrictions (militia curfew hours have been shortened, communications has been restored), the basis for discussion has become issues associated with the future of the country, the region and the plant, hence economic reform, price reform, the prospects of the younger generation and other issues, equally vital.

In expressing their opinions, a number of people have not hidden the fact that now they move about the streets much more securely and safely. We even wanted to move the beginning of the militia curfew to the 23rd hour, but

representatives of "female" plants were opposed to this, saying that they would like to continue to return home from the 2nd shift in peace.

The subject [he says] which is not making its way into all meetings, without exception, is obviously the increase in prices and compensation. This problem is viewed from various aspects at particular enterprises. For example, at "Truso" women are discussing the proposed food, fuel and power price increases above all, while at the Elblag Construction Works, the discussion centers around the new prices of manufactured goods resulting from the change in procurement prices.

The suggestion of the Council of Ministers Economic Committee that compensation should be of two kinds: fixed, i.e., the same for all, and changing, depending on earnings, was received very favorably. People say that now every person employed in the socialized economy has the opportunity to receive at least those 750 zlotys. At the same time, the necessity of adopting such principles of remuneration and compensation as would work as an incentive toward work productivity is strongly emphasized. The decided majority of those with whom we come in contact and speak does not hide the fear of how they will manage the household budget after 1 February. All are aware, however, that price control is necessary and that this step "into deep water" is inevitable.

[Question] I would like to ask you about your first impressions of the Elblag voivodship.

[Answer] As I was on my way to Elblag I anticipated a considerably more difficult situation. I found that the supply situation was much better than, e.g., in Bydgoszcz. I have already mentioned the basic [sic:] [should be postawa-attitude] of the leadership cadre. I also came away with many favorable impressions from meetings and contacts with rank-and-file inhabitants of the region.

I am just beginning to learn about this voivodship, getting to the root of its special nature and problems. Thus, it is difficult for me to give an authoritative opinion. I am more and more firmly convinced that we can be optimistic about the future of the Elblag region. Its trump cards are its exceptionally fertile, if demanding soils of the Wisla Zulawy and its nationally recognized industry: Zamech, "Truso," ZWP [Expansion unknown], EZNS [Elblag Automobile Repair Plants] and, in the not-too-distant future, the Ewidzyn cellulose plant.

[Question] Comrade Colonel, you are a pilot, I would like to ask you how many hours you have spent in the air piloting planes.

[Answer] It depends how one calculates it. The Americans calculate this time from the moment one enters the plane until he leaves it. In Poland, the "clock ticks" from the moment the plane starts until it lands. Thus, calculating according to our criteria, I have spent a combined total of over 2,500 hours of time in the air, of course as the pilot of various types of craft, including supersonic planes.

[Question] What are your other interests?

[Answer] I enjoy sports above all. I am vice-president of the Bydgoszcz Zawisza. To this day, my charges remember the 1:3 defeat they suffered in the fall in Elblag in a first-league meet with Olimpia. They promise to take revenge on their own court in the spring. I will remind them then that the ball is round.

8536
CSO: 2600/345

DECREE ON JURISDICTION OF MILITARY COURTS DURING MARTIAL LAW PUBLISHED

Warsaw DZIENNIK USTAW in Polish No 29 14 Dec 81 pp 321-322

[Decree on the Transfer of Cases Involving Certain Crimes to the Jurisdiction of Military Courts and on Changes in the Organizational Structure of Military Courts and Military Organizational Units of the Prosecutor General's Office of the Polish Peoples Republic During a State of Martial Law]

[Text] In connection with the declaration of martial law for reasons of national security the Council of State resolves as follows:

Chapter 1
Broadening the Jurisdiction of Military Courts

Article 1. During a state of martial law military courts shall also try cases involving crimes that hitherto fell under the jurisdiction of general courts and as defined in:

1) article 122, article 128, section 1, and article 129 of the Penal Code to the extent that these cases formerly fell under the jurisdiction of general courts;

2) articles 123, 126, and 127, 130-133, 143, 144, 260-262, 270 and 271, 276, 278, sections 1-3, articles 283 and 286 of the Penal Code;

3) article 254, section 1 in reference to articles 122, 123, 124, sections 1 and 2 and articles 126-128, section 1, and also article 273, sections 1 and 2 in reference to articles 270 and 271 of the Penal Code;

4) article 148 of the Penal Code insofar as an offender has committed an act against a public official or political official or their immediate family in connection with the performance of their official duties or the discharge of the duties of their political office;

5) articles 148 and 209-211 of the Penal Code insofar as an offender has resorted to the use of firearms or explosives or acted in concert with another person who resorted to the use of firearms or explosives;

6) article 288, section 1 of the Penal Code insofar as an offender has committed an act for the purpose of departing from the Polish Peoples Republic;

7) articles 1 and 2 of the Law of 29 December 1950 on the Defense of the Peace (DZIENNIK USTAW No 58, item 521);

8) articles 221-223, 226, and 227 of the Law of 21 November 1967 on the General Duty of Service in Defense of the Polish Peoples Republic (DZIENNIK USTAW, 1979, No 18, item 111);

9) article 47, section 1 and article 48, sections 1-5 of the Decree of 12 December 1981 on Martial Law (DZIENNIK USTAW No 29, item 154).

Article 2. 1. Cases involving crimes mentioned in article 1 that hitherto fell under the jurisdiction of a provincial court shall be tried in the court of original jurisdiction by a military district court (or its equivalent), whereas cases which hitherto fell under the jurisdiction of a regular court shall be tried by a military garrison court.

2. Cases involving crimes mentioned in article 1 shall be tried by military courts within whose jurisdictions such crimes were committed.

Article 3. Cases involving crimes committed by persons called up for duty in civil defense units or in militarized units or while performing such service and in connection with such service, and also, insofar as a militarized unit has been subordinated to a military commanding officer, cases involving crimes that are not connected with service in such units shall be tried by military courts in conformity with the rules set forth in article 234 in reference to article 237 of the Law of 21 November 1967 on the General Duty of Service in Defense of the Polish Peoples Republic (DZIENNIK USTAW, 1979, No 18, item 111).

Article 4. 1. If the same person is charged with having committed several interrelated crimes of which at least one is subject to adjudication by military courts, all of the cases in question shall be tried by a military court.

2. The provisions of article 24, section 3 of the Code of Criminal Procedure are to be enforced accordingly.

Article 5. 1. Insofar as such action shall not be detrimental to due process in the administration of justice or to the preservation of law and order, a military court may transfer a case involving a crime subject to the adjudication of military courts to a general court.

2. The provisions of section 1 are to be duly enforced during preliminary proceedings.

Article 6. 1. In cases involving crimes mentioned in article 1 the trial duties of public prosecutors serving organizational entities of the Prosecutor General's Office of the Polish Peoples Republic are to be performed by military prosecutors.

2. The provisions of article 262 of the Code of Criminal Procedure are to be duly enforced in cases involving crimes transferred to the adjudication of military courts during preliminary proceedings conducted by military prosecutors.

Article 7. Accelerated proceedings are to be instituted before military courts only in cases involving crimes defined in article 18, item 6 of the Decree of 12 December 1981 on Special Proceedings in Criminal and Misdemeanor Cases During a State of Martial Law (DZIENNIK USTAW, No 29, item 156).

Chapter II
Changes in the Organizational Structure of Military Organizational Entities of the Prosecutor General's Office of the Polish Peoples Republic

Article 8. 1. During a state of martial law the positions of public prosecutor and investigating officer in military organizational entities of the Prosecutor General's Office of the Polish Peoples Republic may also be filled by reserve officers called up for active military duty in accordance with the provisions of article 110, section 1 with reference to article 237 of the Law of 21 November 1967 on the General Duty of Service in Defense of the Polish Peoples Republic (DZIENNIK USTAW, 1979, No 18, item 111).

2. The positions referred to in section 1 may be filled by officers who do not meet the requirements specified in article 10, section 1, items 5-7 of the Law of 14 April 1967 on the Prosecutor General's Office of the Polish Peoples Republic (DZIENNIK USTAW 1980, No 10, item 30) provided that they possess the training necessary to perform the duties associated with these positions. In this instance the provisions of article 11 of the law are not to be enforced.

Article 9. 1. Prosecutors serving in military organizational entities of the Prosecutor General's Office of the Polish Peoples Republic, with the exception of prosecutors specified in article 12, section 2 of the Law of 14 April 1967 on the Prosecutor General's Office of the Polish Peoples Republic (DZIENNIK USTAW 1980, No 10, item 30) are appointed and discharged by the Military Prosecutor General.

2. The Military Prosecutor General may empower the prosecutors of military district courts (or their equivalents) to appoint, transfer, and discharge investigating officers.

Chapter III
Changes in the Organizational Structure of Military Courts

Article 10. 1. The Chairman of the Military Chamber of the Supreme Court may establish extramural benches of a military district court (or its equivalent) off the premises of the main courthouse and he may also establish extramural sections of a military garrison court off the premises of its main courthouse while at the same time stipulating their respective locations and organizational structures.

2. The geographic areas of jurisdiction of military courts are to be determined by the Chairman of the Military Chamber of the Supreme Court.

Article 11. 1. A military district court (or its equivalent) is a superior court in relation to a military garrison court functioning within its area of jurisdiction.

2. In judicial matters the chief of a military district court (or its equivalent) exercises review powers over a military garrison court functioning within the military district court's jurisdiction.

Article 12. 1. Officers of the reserve called up for active military duty may be appointed to fill the positions of judge and associate judge in military courts for as long as martial law shall remain in force in accordance with the provisions of article 110, section 1 in reference to article 237 of the Law of 21 November 1967 on the General Duty of Service in Defense of the Polish Peoples Republic (DZIENNIK USTAW, 1979, No 18, item 111).

2. The positions referred to in section 1 may be filled by officers who do not meet the requirements set forth in article 24, section 1, items 3 and 4 of the Law of 8 June 1972 on the Organizational Structure of Military Courts (DZIENNIK USTAW, No 23, item 166) provided that they possess the requisite training qualifying them to fill these positions. In such instances the provisions of article 24, section 4 of this law are not to be enforced.

3. Officers of the reserve appointed to fill positions referred to in section 1 may not preside over a court hearing a case that is being tried under the rules of summary proceeding.

4. The Chairman of the Military Chamber of the Supreme Court may empower the chiefs of military district courts (or their equivalents) to appoint and recall associate judges sitting on military courts and to commission them to perform judgeship duties.

Article 13. If so required for the good of the service a judge sitting in the Military Chamber of the Supreme Court may be delegated for an indefinite period to perform judicial duties in another military court, and judges sitting on military courts may likewise be delegated without their consent to perform judicial duties in the Military Chamber of the Supreme Court or to perform judicial or administrative duties and functions in another military court.

Article 14. 1. The legal validity of the provisions of article 48, sections 2 and 5 and articles 49 and 50 of the Law of 8 June 1972 on the Organizational Structure of Military Courts (DZIENNIK USTAW No 23, item 166) is suspended.

2. Associate judges are appointed to work on a given case by the commanders of military units. The provisions of article 48, sections 1 and 3 mentioned in section 1 are to be enforced accordingly.

Article 15. A judge sitting on a military court may appear in court without wearing the gold chain and emblem of the Polish Peoples Republic.

Chapter IV
Transitional and Concluding Provisions

Article 16. The provisions of laws currently in force together with amendments and additions thereto arising out of the provisions of this decree are to be enforced in matters not governed by this decree.

Article 17. Cases involving crimes mentioned in article 1 that are outstanding as of the date on which martial law is revoked are to be duly remanded on that date to the jurisdiction of general courts or general organizational entities of the Prosecutor General's Office of the Polish Peoples Republic. In this instance preliminary proceedings in progress are to be conducted thereafter in conformity with general rules of procedure, whereas proceedings in progress before a court of a given jurisdiction are to be recommended from their inception.

Article 18. Cases involving crimes mentioned in article 1 concerning which criminal proceedings were in progress before general courts or general organizational entities of the Prosecutor General's Office of the Polish Peoples Republic on the day martial law was declared are to be duly transferred on that date to military courts or military prosecutors. In this instance preliminary proceedings in progress are to be conducted thereafter in conformity with the rules provided for in this decree, whereas proceedings in progress before a court of a given jurisdiction are to be recommenced from their inception.

Article 19. The legal force of the provisions of chapter 7 of the Law of 8 June 1972 on the Organizational Structure of Military Courts (DZIENNIK USTAW No 23, item 166) is hereby suspended.

Article 20. The provisions of this decree are to be enforced during a state of martial law throughout the territory of the Polish Peoples Republic or within the boundaries of national administrative-political subdivisions in which martial law has been declared in conformity with the provisions of the resolution of the Council of State on the declaration of martial law.

Article 21. This decree enters into force on the date of its promulgation and is retroactive to the date on which martial law was declared.

Chairman of the Council of State,
H. Jablonski

Secretary of the Council of State,
E. Duda

11811
CSO: 2600/227

'SOLIDARNOSC' COMMENTS ON DRASTIC GOVERNMENT MEASURES

AU171542 Warsaw SOLIDARNOSC in Polish 11 Dec 81 p 3

[Commentary by Ernest Skalski: "An Attempt"]

[Text] The special government powers, which the Sixth Plenum has instructed its majority in the Sejm to grant, cover, besides a ban on striking, an even more extensive array of other possibilities. Thus, the following possibilities exist: the militarization of factories when the official recommendation becomes an order; the replacement of civil jurisdiction by a military prosecutor's office and military courts; a ban on activity by trade unions, organizations and societies; a ban on public gatherings except religious ones; suspension of the censorship law, in other words, censorship would be optional and the publication of printed matter could be banned; the deferment of elections to national councils; restrictions on international travel and also--wait for it!--on intervoivodship travel.

This information is reaching the outside world by a roundabout route. If it is not true, then let the government reveal the draft of a law on these special powers, and let us find out whether Central Committee members--in secrecy before the main body of party members and the entire community--knew what they were voting for, or whether they voted on this draft not knowing what it was all about.

Knowing our political and legislative practice, it is easy to see that this set of possibilities is one solution which has been considered--secretly, as usual. Maybe the set is not even complete, for it does not cover the possibility of apprehending and detaining persons and making bodily searches and searches of premises beyond the normal routine. But maybe an appropriate interpretation of the law against speculation is enough here.

In any case, the idea has arisen in the government machinery of the kind of government behavior which employs military occupation of a conquered country. As a condition in which the national accord put forward by this government ought to be implemented, this makes a somewhat funny impression.

The reason for taking measures like this is supposed to be the increasing anarchy and threats to our constitutional system and legal order. We write about anarchy in an article on the next page entitled "Hysteria"--see for

yourselves on what principles the government attempt on the life of the constitutional system and legal order is based, for there is no other way to describe these proposals. I wonder if it will ever occur to anyone in the Sejm to demand a majority, essential when amending the constitution.

The question arises: Why is the government taking such unheard-of measures against its own community right now? Surely the degree of "growing anarchy in social life" does not justify it, although it is not out of the question that some representatives of the machinery of government have themselves begun to believe in what they are telling their media to say. More likely they feel that the moment of reckoning is drawing nearer for the entire post-August period, for they do not want to introduce economic reform at the cost of their own interests and therefore in a way which is the only effective one and which has the support of the community. They know that no quarter-measures such as provisional measures will bring improvement. They remember the elections to the national councils and are not in a position to approve of their democratic nature.

At last we come to a local but delicate matter. It concerns the alleged eviction of the party from the factories at a time when in fact the principles by which party committees function were questioned in several places. This matter has a confrontational nature and is used by the government as justification for the extraordinary measures. The propaganda reaction to this is to try to create one general conflict out of a few incidents.

The party, which has the word "workers" in its title and which advocates the need for agreement, ought to hold consultations with workers on the way it functions in the factories, and not threaten them with the public prosecutor and the governor, because threats lead to provocation.

The final draft of the law conferring the powers will probably not meet the unanimous or almost unanimous approval of the Sejm, which is what our government in its parliament has gotten used to. So it is not out of the question that a compromise solution will be proposed which many deputies will accept with relief as a way of avoiding the worst and, considering themselves absolved of sin, will vote for it. This was the case with the law on self-government, and here one has to make it quite clear that compromise is a valuable and sought-after thing, but not always. There may be compromise concerning self-government, control by the authorities, the system of public services, prices and wages, but there may be no compromise at the cost of losing those citizens' liberties which have been achieved up to now, because the situation today already is a compromise between the aspirations of the community and the standards of civilized countries on one side, and the domestic conditions which are beyond our control on the other. These conditions have not changed since agreements were concluded in Gdansk, Szczecin and Jastrzebie. In addition, any departure from them is intolerable, and attempts to introduce a police state even more so.

Yet another scenario of events is possible. The state of legislative work shows that before there is a law on special powers for the government, a law on trade unions in a version acceptable to both sides may be passed. This law

foresees a temporary ban on striking and it is not impossible that it may be hastily used to kindle unjustified antistrike hysteria and that during the strike ban the union could be provoked into breaking it by receiving direct threats. This would certainly give cause to introduce a state of emergency, or, as they call it, special powers.

In order that this hypothetical and far-fetched possibility may not occur, it is necessary to warn people against it in good time. The majority in the Sejm, composed almost 100 percent of the votes gained by the National Unity Front, may pass any law but in this way can pass final sentence on itself. However, it would be utterly stupid to expect that an aggressive minority of the community can succeed with the help of such a legal paper in enslaving its huge, sensible and organized majority and turn the chain of events to its own advantage. Of course, one can scare people, but it is worth doing so only when those one is trying to scare are likely to be afraid. In our situation, scaring mainly causes irritation, not fear. In this way one cannot extort obedience; however, it can lead to a conflict, even an extremely violent one.

That part of the machinery of government which believes in the beneficial effect of fear of itself is deceiving itself. The other part, however, knows what it is doing and why it is doing it.

CSO: 2600/377

'SOLIDARNOSC' ASSESSES POSSIBILITY OF CIVIL WAR

AU171138 Warsaw SOLIDARNOSC in Polish 11 Dec 81 p 15

[Commentary by Krzysztof Czabanski: "Will There Be Civil War?"]

[Text] Will there be civil war? Some say yes. I think differently--civil war must have two sides. I do not see the other side. True, the police can put up a show of strength as recently happened at the Firefighters' School. But such shows--officially called "unblockages"--can be staged more frequently in other cities and on other occasions. But can the entire community be "unblocked"?

When I say there is no "other side" I do not mean that everyone supports Solidarity. Public opinion polls in recent weeks have shown that groups of people have emerged who believe neither in the authorities nor in Solidarity--in no one. However, I think that there is no "other side" above all because the overwhelming majority of Poles knows well what it does not want, and that is authority outside public control.

The authorities can show what they think. Tanks may stand at crossroads and police and military controls may swarm the streets, but a rifle will never replace economic reform, nor will it fill the empty shelves in the shops. A rifle will never solve anything rationally at all, and talks between the authorities and the community will no longer be possible. A general strike which might then break out will expose the uselessness of brute force. Then we will see if there really are two sides (and civil war) or, as I keep saying, only one. We will see that those who bet on brute force will in this way withdraw from the life of the country.

CSO: 2600/377

ROLE OF ROMANIA IN LIBERATION OF BALKAN PEOPLES

Bucharest CONTEMPORANUL in Romanian 18 Dec 81 pp 6-7

/Article by Prof Dr Constantin N. Velichi: "The Romanian Lands and Their Role in the Balkan Peoples' Struggle for Liberation"/

/Text/ The role of the Romanian Lands and later of Romania in Southeast Europe in the period of overthrow of Ottoman rule and formation of the Balkan peoples' national states is and will always be a current subject. Therefore the series of articles published in CONTEMPORANUL for 6 November 1981 was followed with keen interest everywhere. But it is true that the space allowed by the reknowned journal, although quite extensive, did not permit the authors to illustrate all the aspects.

This contribution will supplement the few data the readers could find in the said series concerning the Bulgarian people, especially since they were the main beneficiaries of Romanian aid in restoring their state, which was under Ottoman rule for almost five centuries. In speaking of this rule we must note that it was not equally oppressive everywhere. The Bulgarian territories in the immediate vicinity of the capital and up to the Danube suffered the most. All the roads taken by the sultan's armies to the center of Europe passed through here, and most of the tributes of any kind imposed upon the subject peoples were sent to Istambul through here as well. To Ottoman oppression, increasing in direct proportion to the decline of the empire, was added that of the "ciorbagi" and especially that of the higher Phanariot clergy, who had begun to take over the schools and culture in general. In this situation many Bulgarians took refuge north of the Danube, where they were well received. Sultan Selim III himself wrote the vali of Rumelia in 1795 that "whole regions, villages and cities in my empire are laid waste and depopulated... The laws are disregarded and... there is complete anarchy in my state." Concerning the Bulgarian territories, the French traveler Olivier, who traversed them in the last years of the 18th century, wrote that "There is no part of the empire that presents such complete devastation, fields standing unworked, and huts and villages destroyed and abandoned." In the cities there were only schools under the church or the Greek ones, there was no secular book or even a religious one in the language of the people, there was no Bulgarian press, the number of intellectuals was quite limited, and contact with western ideas was nearly nonexistent. That was the dismal picture of Bulgaria at the close of the 18th century, and the outlook was equally gloomy. The sole hope was emigration to Russia or Istanbul, but especially to Wallachia, where the situation was entirely different and great political and cultural progress was made in the 19th century. But already in the 17th century there the language of the church, the schools and

culture was the national language. We find many printers who were printing secular or religious books and an intelligentsia aware of the people's origin and ethnic unity. The Greek Academies in Bucharest and Iasi taught in French or Italian as well as in Greek, and higher education in Romanian began in 1813 in Iasi and in 1818 in Bucharest. Quite a few youths were studying in Italy, Germany and France. There were royal schools in every district capital, and elementary education was beginning in the villages. Between 1700 and 1770, when national independence was the most restricted because the princes were mostly Phanariotes, 268 books were printed including 231 in Romanian. Many works of European literature were being translated, and the Romanian intelligentsia gave Europe men like Ienachita Vacarescu, Nicolae Milescu and Dimitrie Cantemir. All that Europe had that was more progressive in ideas, such as illuminist and Kantian criticism, enlightened absolutism, English liberalism, and the ideas of the French Revolution conveyed by the encyclopedists' works, were circulating in Romania, where such works were read as "On the Sovereignty of the People" (Paris, 1790), "The Citizen's Manual," etc.

On the political level, after 1821 the native rulers were restored, in 1829 vassalage to the Porte was reduced to supporting the princes and paying the tribute /haraciul/, in 1848 the bourgeois-democratic revolution took place, in 1859 the modern Romanian state came into being, etc. That is what the young Bulgarians were seeing who came here for instruction, as well as the Bulgarian emigrants who found refuge in Romania. They had before them many models that they were quick to follow and adapt. In 1806, with the aid of the Vacarescus Bishop Sofronie of Vrata, who had fled to Romania, was printing the first book in the spoken Bulgarian language instead of Church Slavic, which was no longer understood. In 1824 Petru Beron, who had been educated in Bucharest, published the first Bulgarian primer in Brasov, thereby disseminating the Lancasterian teaching method, which was the most modern at the time, was suited to the contemporary requirements, and came to replace the medieval method based on religious books, psalters and breviaries that was designed to train priests alone. And finally Neofit de la Rila came to Bucharest, acquired the modern educational methods, published a Bulgarian grammar, and prepared other textbooks for publication. In 1835, with the help of the Gabrovian merchants from Odessa and especially those from Bucharest, he opened the first modern school in Gabrovo in Bulgaria, which was followed by others later. Dozens of books, textbooks and others of every kind were printed in Bucharest and sent south of the Danube, along with generous cash donations from the wealthy Bulgarian merchants in Romania, to the schools in the Bulgarian cities whence they had emigrated. Moreover Bulgarian schools and churches were founded in the Romanian cities with larger numbers of emigrants, like Galati, Braila, Bucharest, Giurgiu et al.

ALBINA BULGARA, the emigrants' first daily, came out in Braila in 1863 and was soon followed by others. Note that the most important Bulgarian dailies were published in Romania, including those of the revolutionaries Liuben Karavelov and Hristo Botev, to say nothing of the many journals, some of them humorous, patterned after the Romanian ones. The Braila REVISTA PERIODICA, the organ of the Bulgarian Literary Society, the future Bulgarian Academy of today, was particularly important. Also in Braila, Dobri Voinikov laid the foundations of the Bulgarian theater by writing plays and staging plays written by him or others with a troupe. The Romanian schools, high schools and universities educated a whole galaxy of Bulgarian intellectuals. Space does not permit us to go into details, but to conclude this section on culture, which pinpoints only the more important elements, we mention that in 1806-1878 over 40 Bulgarian schools were operating in Romania, including the first Bulgarian high school, and

more than 400 Bulgarian intellectuals were educated in Romania. Meanwhile about 300 books and over 50 periodicals were printed in some 40 different printing houses (over half of them Bulgarian firms). One cannot speak of the Bulgarian theater or Bulgarian poetry and prose under Ottoman rule without mentioning Romania in a place of honor.

Of course the Bulgarian revolutionary movement for national liberation is equally important, and Romania and especially some of its cities (Bucharest, Braila, Galati, Ploiesti, Giurgiu etc.) were its centers both before and especially after the modern Romanian state was formed. A famous Bulgarian historian who died recently and who published important studies on the Bulgarian Renaissance wrote in 1975, "Bucharest granted hospitality to the Bulgarian emigration and was its cultural and political center from the first years of the 19th century. The emigration developed a very intensive political activity there especially after the Crimean War, when the city became Bulgaria's true political capital for over 20 years and was the headquarters of all the emigration's political organizations chiefy dedicated to liberation of the enslaved fatherland." These statements are highly important and not isolated, and to be correctly understood they should be illustrated with some historical data and facts.

First we note that the Bulgarian emigration followed the course that the Romanian national movement had also taken. It was composed of both peasants settled in villages and tradesmen and merchants settled in cities, and it formed volunteer corps that fought with Romanians along with the Russian armies in the Russo-Turkish wars and especially in those of 1806-1812, 1828-1829 and 1853-1856. While the peasants fought in armed combat, the tradesmen and merchants played a diplomatic role by means of memoranda to Russia and other powers, etc.

The Romanian revolutionary movement of 1840 led by Dimitrie Filipescu encouraged the Balkan emigrants, largely Bulgarians, in Romania to try to form large armed bands to cross the Danube and launch a general anti-Ottoman uprising. These attempts, repeated in 3 successive years at Braila (1841, 1842, and 1843), failed because of the emigrants' inexperience and the unfavorable historical circumstances.

We must also make a further distinction when we speak of the Bulgarian emigration in Romania in the middle of the 19th century. It reached its peak during the Russo-Turkish wars at the end of the 18th and in the first half of the 19th century. As it was indicated in the above-mentioned series of articles in this journal, 12.000 Bulgarian families were living in Wallachiaaccording to the 1838 census, which was the most complete and accurate one that had been taken in Romania up to that time. At that time many of the Bulgarians, especially those settled in villages, no longer intended to return to their country, nor did some of the city dwellers, so that we can no longer call them emigrants. This is also borne out by the fact that after Bulgaria's liberation they stayed in their adopted land alongside Romanians and had the same interests. Consequently they also took part in the bourgeois-democratic revolution in 1848, but that does not mean that their love for those still under Ottoman rule was any the less. A Bulgarian political organization was also founded then, the first of the kind, but we know very little about it. In any event it was the first Bulgarian committee in Romania.

But the emigration properly speaking, comprising the emigrants totally committed to the fight for liberation of their country, was another part of it. This movement's ideology originated in Gheorghi Stoikov Rakovski's writings and revolutionary deeds. Being in Belgrade in the years when the Romanians succeeded in uniting the principalities and laying the foundations of the modern Romanian state, the same revolutionary

openly stated that this event would greatly aid the success of the anti-Ottoman struggle of the enslaved Balkan peoples. Therefore Rakovski settled in Bucharest in 1863, where he enjoyed the friendship and help of Prince Cuza, Mihail Kogalniceanu, C. A. Rosetti, Cezar Bolliac, B. P. Hasdeu and others. The latter also collaborated with Rakovski on the first Romanian-Bulgarian daily, BADUSTNOST-VIITORUL, the appearance of which in 1864 was welcomed by the entire Romanian press. Although the grand vizir protested and demanded Rakovski's extradition, Romania refused it.

The circumstances of Prince Cuza's dethronement are well known, a situation where the Porte wished to annul the unification. Romanian-Turkish relations became so strained that the Porte concentrated armed forces on the Danube. Under the circumstances Romania appealed to all Balkan emigrants and also to some states in the area. In Rakovski's absence from Bucharest Rosetti looked to Ivan Kasabov, and a Romanian committee jointly with the CCSB /Bulgarian Secret Central Committee/ formed at the end of May 1866 drew up the draft of a "Sacred Coalition" between the Romanians and Bulgarians, which draft was never signed. But the Romanians continued to aid the CCSB.

The Benevolent Society was older than the latter, and it was so named in order to disguise the political organization of the Bulgarian great bourgeoise in the emigration. It faithfully followed the policy of Czarist diplomacy, thinking that Russia alone would liberate Bulgaria, by war but primarily by diplomatic means.

In his turn Rakovski returned to Romania in the summer of 1866 and founded his own revolutionary organization, setting up his headquarters in Sinesti, near Bucharest. One of the members wrote later, "If anyone had come and entered the houses there he would have found a whole arsenal of various weapons and a real barracks of rebels." They were the rebels Rakovski was training to cross into Bulgaria. The Romanian police knew all but pretended to see nothing.

This Bulgarian organization brought the number to three of them, despite the firman whereby the sultan recognized Prince Carol as ruler of Romania on the express condition that Romania "shall not become the center of assembly of the disturbers of the peace of the Ottoman Empire," an expression taken to mean the Bulgarian revolutionaries. Actually the Romanian government did not enforce that clause but let the three Bulgarian organizations do as they wished. It even closed its eyes and let the bands led by Panaiot Hitov and Filip Totiu cross the Danube in the spring of 1867.

In 1868 another Bulgarian political organization was founded in Bucharest, called the "Bulgarian Community." It should be pointed out that both it and the CCSB, which soon started its activity, developed under the auspices and influence of the Romanian liberals, especially the group around C. A. Rosetti. While Romania succeeded in pacifying the Porte and confined itself to purely formal measures against the Bulgarian organizations, France, England and Austria-Hungary exerted very strong and brutal pressures on the Romanian government, but it resisted them. But when a large band crossed the Danube in July 1868 under Hagi Dimitar and Stefan Karagea, and when Romanian aid could no longer be concealed, the great western powers as well as Turkey began definite measures and Turkish armed forces were massed along the Danube. Therefore the Golescu government, wherein Ion Bratianu was minister of interior, was obliged to resign.

This time too Romania succeeded in calming the situation. Moreover, the revolutionary Vasil Levski crossed into Bulgaria twice with the money of the Bulgarian Community in Bucharest and formed the internal revolutionary organization there in 1869-1870.

Meanwhile the revolutionary Liuben Karavelov, who found favorable conditions and aid in Romania after studying in Russia and operating for a while in Serbia, settled in Bucharest and founded the CCRB /Bulgarian Revolutionary Central Committee/, which collaborated perfectly with Levski's organization in Bulgaria. Soon, in the fall of 1867, the other great Bulgarian revolutionary, Hristo Botev, also crossed into Romania. Collaborating on Karavelov's daily LIBERTATEA and later bringing out his own daily CIVINTUL EMIGRANTILOR BULGARI, Botev contacted the socialist circles in Romania and made many friends there. The poet and revolutionary also knew through his Romanian friends the national ideal for which the Romanian national movement was fighting, namely corpletion of the Romanian national state "in its ethnic borders," as he himself wrote in an article in his daily STEAGUL (ZNAME). Botev helped Karavelov manage the CCRB, which he also took over after the latter's retirement from revolutionary journalism. When the rebellion in Bosnia and Herzegovina broke out in 1875, Botev prepared the first attempt at rebellion in Bulgaria in the fall of 1875, but the latter was defeated. Another Bulgarian committee with headquarters in Giurgiu and in contact with Botev laid plans for a future rebellion. The Romanian authorities closed their eyes to the shipments of arms and money , and the Bulgarians' rebellion broke out in April 1876, being put down in blood this time as well. Botev himself crossed the Danube in May 1876 under the sympathetic eyes of the Romanian authorities in order to inspire it with new strength. This rebellion, which was actually to be the Bulgarians' bourgeois-democratic revolution, was defeated by the Turks but it was the prelude to the Russian-Romanian-Turkish War of 1877-1878. Bulgarian volunteers trained in the camp at Ploiesti also fought in it. The battles of Plevna, Grivita, Rahova, Sipka, Vidin etc. have not been forgotten, and they led to Bulgaria's liberation and Romania's independence, so that the purpose of the Bulgarian revolutionary movement with headquarters in Romania was achieved.

All of the foregoing, preceded by the Romanian-Bulgarian relations in the 14th-17th centuries described in the above-mentioned series of articles, is an example rarely found in history of the collaboration of two neighboring peoples in their struggle for freedom and independence, relations illustrated and described in detail in the works of the Romanian and Bulgarian specialists.

Of course other interpretations have been attempted. In an isolated fashion, foreign historians and sometimes even Bulgarian ones who are insufficiently informed acknowledge the extensive hospitality Romania accorded the Bulgarian national liberation movement, but they overlook these facts or consider them details when they express the consistency of the Romanian spirit and policy. And so, we do not know for what motives, they try to maintain that Romania aided the Bulgarian emigration's struggle only when it had an interest in doing so and neglected it when its connections with the Porte or with the western powers required it. Those historians, either insufficiently informed or overlooking the actual facts, have failed to realize that for Romanians, the only people in Southeast Europe who succeeded with immense sacrifices in preserving their existence as an autonomous state in the face of Ottoman conquest, the anti-Ottoman battle was one of the constant features of their foreign policy, and that the corollary of this was support of the same struggle on the part of all the Balkan peoples. Therefore Romania never hesitated but was always concerned that the Bulgarian revolutionary movement for national liberation should be increasingly strong and never neglected it even when the Porte and the western powers expressly demanded it. Romania did not extradite Rakovski, Filip Totiu, Karavelov or any other revolutionaries insistently demanded by the Porte. Even when requested not to do so by the powerful states of the time, Romania aided the training, arming and Danube crossing of the bands of outlaws bent upon launching a general rebellion in the

Ottoman Empire. Those historians forget the elementary truths of the period, namely the great powers' interest in sowing discord among us and our interest, whether we are Bulgarians, Romanians or other oppressed peoples in this part of the world, in being as strong as possible in the struggle for liberation, not only ourselves but also our neighbors whom we can help.

All this can be proved and has been proved clearly by long series of pages of technical articles and demonstrations that have no place here. We shall cite just one example. In 1868, after Hagi Dimitar's band crossed the Danube with Romanian aid, a fact that contributed to the fall of the Romanian government, Ion Bratianu delivered a long speech in the Chamber in which he took up the defense of the Bulgarian people, declaring that Turkey and the great powers were dissatisfied because "We would not be executioners." Bratianu added, "We (Romania) are a small state, our heart is closer to our head, and we cannot compare ourselves with the big states... so that we can hang and slaughter people. We could never betray the Bulgarians in Romania and give them to hangmen, because then Romania would perish. In this regard, what the ministry of yesterday said the ministry of today must carry on, what we did they must also do, because they also have hearts and the same feelings and duties as Romanians that we do. Then all the powers of Europe will see... that what we did was neither the feelings nor the will of a man, a faction or a party but the feelings and will of the entire nation." Mihail Kogalniceanu as well as other deputies rallied to Bratianu's speech on behalf of the new government.

They as well as those in Rosetti's group could not be men who would plan to invade any foreign territories. They were fighting then for independence and the completion of the Romanian national state, as Botev wrote and as many Bulgarian revolutionaries contemporary with the events testified. Therefore we resent the attempt to accredit any erroneous theories. In addition to signs of forgetting the historical truth, they show ignorance of some elementary criteria of Romania's existence in this part of the world. Todor Jivkov, chairman of the State Council of Bulgaria was quite right in saying at one of his meetings with Nicolae Ceausescu, president of Romania, that "I can mention only with profound gratitude the Romanian people's hospitality to our revolutionaries in the Renaissance period, the fighters for the Bulgarian people's national liberation, Rakovski and Karavelov, Botev and Levski, and the bands of Hagi Dimitar, Stefan Karagea, Panaiot Hitov and Filip Totiu, which were formed and armed on Romanian territory to cross the clear and calm Danube and give their lives for Bulgaria's freedom."

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CSO: 2700/168

'UNSCIENTIFIC' THEORIES OF ROMANIANS' ORIGIN COMBATTED

Bucharest CONTEMPORANUL in Romanian 18 Dec 81 p 7

/Article by Dr Lucian Boia: "Romanians' Ethnic Origin"/

/Text/ The origin of the Romanian people is one of the key problems of all Romanian historiography, from the chroniclers to the present time. Since study of the past has always been of a dedicated and deeply patriotic nature among Romanians, essentially contributing to the formation of the national consciousness, the struggle for liberation from foreign rule, and the creation of the single and independent Romanian state, it was natural for historiography to attach particular importance to the problems of the formation, continuity and unity of the Romanian people. They are three elements of the same process that substantiate the Romanians' ancestral right to the land they inhabit and the historical necessity of uniting within the borders of a single country those who speak one language and have one history.

Back in the 17th century Grigore Ureche and Miron Costin were interested in the origin of the Romanians, and the latter wrote the first work on this problem in Romanian historiography, "On the Moldavian People." The high steward Constantin Cantacuzino (in "The History of Wallachia") and Dimitrie Cantemir (in "The Chronicle of the Antiquity of the Romanian-Moldavian Vlachs," written in 1719-1722) made intensive studies of the same subject and were followed, at the end of the 18th and the beginning of the 19th centuries by the historians of the Transylvanian School, namely Samuil Micu, Gheorghe Sincai, Petru Maior and Ioan Budai-Deleanu, who used the idea of the Romanian people's Latin origin, continuity and unity as an ideological weapon in the struggle for national emancipation (opposing the immigrationist theories of one Sulzer in particular, then launched for obvious political purposes in the attempt to contest the historical basis of Romanian rights).

The Transylvanian School, like the chroniclers and Dimitrie Cantemir before them, attached great and even exclusive importance to the Latin origins and character of the Romanian language, at a time when very little was yet known about the Dacian civilization but the Latin language and culture had high and universal prestige. These trends continued on into the 19th century in the often exaggerated form of the Latinist School. A reaction became necessary in order to strike the balance between the actual factors that contributed to the formation of the Romanian people.

The new stage began in the period of 1860-1870, when all Romanian historiography was oriented toward more scientific investigation in greater depth. An outstanding part

was played by Bogdan Petriceicu Hasdeu, who in his study "Did the Dacians Perish?" (1860) proved the onesidedness of the Latinist view and came to the unquestionably logical conclusion that the Dacian population survived after the Roman conquest. A notable linguist, he tried to determine the Dacian vocabulary surviving in the Romanian language, proposing about 100 such etymologies.

In the last decades of the 19th century the Romanian historians brought new and varied arguments (archeological, literary, linguistic, toponymic etc.) to combat the immigrationist theories, which had been revived and revised by Robert Roesler. In 1884 Alexandru D. Xenopol published the first book entirely devoted to documented refutation of Roesler's theories ("Roesler's Theory. Studies on the Continuity of the Romanians in Dacia Traiana), followed by Dimitrie Onciul in a "critical report" on his work, published in 1885. One of the problems discussed concerned the area of the Romanization and consequently of the formation of the Romanian people. Hasdeu referred to Oltenia, the Banat and Southwest Transylvania, Xenopol insisted upon Transylvania in its entirety as the nucleus for the formation of the Romanian people, and Onciul proceeded from the southwestern part of the country but expanded the discussion by pointing out that the regions south of the Danube had been Romanized and the river was never an obstacle between the Romanians on both its banks. N. Iorga adopted and developed the last idea, pointing out that the Romanians are descendants of Southeast European Romans as a whole, even though they survived chiefly in the area north of the Danube due to the vicissitudes of history. It is a view shared by Vasile Parvan, who also had the merit of emphasizing in his work "The Beginnings of Roman Life at the Mouths of the Danube," published in 1923, the role in ethnogenesis of a part of Romanian territory not much considered before, namely the southeastern corner of the country, chiefly Dobrogea, eastern Wallachia and southern Moldavia, which the great archeologist called "Scythian Dacia," an area of intensive Romanization.

All the foregoing views, however different they seem at first glance, are not mutually exclusive but supplement each other. They prove the Daco-Roman character of the Romanian people, their formation on the entire Romanian territory, and still further, the broad, Southest European proportions of the whole process. Special mention is also due G. I. Bratianu's work "Une enigme et un miracle historique: le peuple roumain," published in 1937 and in the Romanian language in 1940: "An Enigma and a Historical Miracle: the Romanian People." Therein Bratianu makes a "reduction to the absurd" of the immigrationist theories advanced by historians in various countries, to the effect that if they were all taken into consideration they would lead to the paradoxical conclusion that the Romanian people had not been formed anywhere! The self-contradictory nature of those theories proved once again that they are unscientific and influenced by considerations outside of historiography.

In attaching great importance to the problems of Romanian ethogenesis and continuity, current Romanian historiography is carrying on an old tradition. The special emphasis upon origins can be regarded as a characteristic and constant feature of Romanian historical research. But some new factors have now been added that must be taken into consideration for an adequate understanding of the problem.

Firstly, there are the various attempts to revive the immigrationist theories. The opponents in various countries of the idea of the continuity of the Romanian people have intensified their journalistic activity recently, for purposes that are obviously more political than historical, in view of current realities. The fact should be noted that the proportion of these interpretations in world historiography is minimal (as it always was, as a matter of fact), since the great majority of foreign

historians are entirely outside this campaign and a great many of them support the Romanian view. But Romanian historiography is obliged to state its position firmly in the face of attempts that it considers distorted and dangerous in their implications.

Another aspect, this time strictly scientific, is the considerable expansion in the last few decades of historical information basic to the whole demonstration of the Daco-Roman origin and continuity. Archeological investigation has proved essential in this respect, since its discoveries are more complete, more objective and more difficult to deny than the literary or linguistic sources used primarily by the old historiography. Many archeological sites throughout the whole country have demonstrated, on the basis of extensive material that has been brought to light, the survival of the Dacian population and even the great vitality of their civilization after the Roman conquest, as well as Daco-Roman continuity after Aurelian's withdrawal in 271. The significant results of the archeological excavations in Transylvania, an area particularly contested by "immigrationists," are also noteworthy in this respect. To cite just a few examples, the excavations at Alba Iulia, in the heart of Transylvania, have proved the persistence of the indigenous population for many centuries after the departure of the Roman administration. At Bratei, the cremation cemetery from the 4th-7th centuries illustrates the same fact, as well as the maintenance of close ties between the aborigines and the Roman civilization. There is also the well-known Latin inscription at Biertan, a proof positive of the existence of a population that was still speaking Latin. The examples could be multiplied indefinitely. They all demonstrate, in complete agreement with historical logic, the continuity of the life, language and civilization of a people who remained attached to their land.

It is gratifying that after so many detailed investigations and studies Romanian historiography has also emphasized syntheses in recent years concerning the problems of ethnogenesis and continuity as a whole. On the whole problem, two noteworthy recent books can be consulted: Ligia Barzu, "The Continuity of the Romanian People's Material and Cultural Creation on the Territory of Former Dacia," 1979, and I. I. Russu, "The Ethnogenesis of the Romanians," 1981.

The current studies are also characterized by a growing emphasis upon the Dacians' role in ethnogenesis and in general upon the Geto-Dacian civilization and its original characteristics. Interest in this problem culminated in 1980 in many meetings devoted to the 2,050 years since Burebista's state was founded. Regarding the formation of the Romanian people, the proportion of Dacians has been made increasingly clear, especially by the works of I. I. Russu, who has carried on the work of B. P. Hasdeu and found a by no means negligible Dacian vocabulary surviving in the Romanian language (amounting in his opinion to about 10 percent of the basic elements of Latin origin). But the Dacian element must not be overrated at the expense of the Latin one. Each one played its particular part, and I would not interpret the actual process of Romanian ethnogenesis solely in terms of one of its determining elements. There is and can be no doubt about the phenomenon of Romanization and the essentially Latin character of the Romanian language, an obvious, final conclusion accepted by all Romanian and foreign science. The Dacian ethnic basis and the Latinity of the language are not mutually exclusive factors but form together the essence of the whole historical process that led to the crystallization of the Romanian people through the interpenetration of two civilizations. That is the conclusion of an extensive historiographical discussion held over several centuries from the chroniclers to the present time, in which each generation of historians has tried to contribute an increment of truth and accuracy to a problem of both the distant past and the present awareness of a people who want to know their origins and the direction of their development.

STRONGER SANCTIONS FOR PARTY MEMBERS WHO 'FLIRT' WITH RELIGION URGED

Bucharest MUNCA DE PARTID in Romanian Feb 82 pp 81-83

[Article by M. Cozma and Gh. Zamfir: "A Firm Attitude Toward Concessions to Mystical Practices"]

[Excerpts] It is an indisputable truth that the great majority of communists and of activists behave in accordance with the principles and norms of party life and work, not making any concessions to concepts foreign to our ideology. For this reason, the attitudes of those party members--unfortunately, even cadres--who, disregarding the high demands of the ideology of our party, which they, of their own free will, pledged to propagate, make, with condemnable levity, concessions to mystical doctrines, sponsoring all sorts of religious weddings and baptisms, and other anachronistic customs, must be firmly combated. As the secretary general of the party has said, such retrograde manifestations--transformed into real businesses, characteristic of the mores of the old society--show a great confusion in the minds of the persons involved, who have an erroneous understanding of the relation between our policy of guaranteeing freedom of religions, under the conditions of the law, and the obligation of the communist and of the revolutionary to fight for the promotion of his views and for their dissemination in the world. On the basis of the opinion of Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu that it is anachronistic that in our times--the period of the great achievements of the technical-scientific revolution--when the people are asserting themselves as conscious creators of all material and intellectual values, there should still exist people, even party members, who still believe in supernatural forces, who still accept religious dogma based on the existence of such forces, it is necessary that the party organs and organizations ensure unceasingly that the entire thought and life of the communists and, especially, of the party and state activists, be based on the scientific, revolutionary concept of dialectical and historical materialism.

Despite such obligations, some cadres, including Paraschiva Horvat, former school principal in Arbore Commune, Suceava County; Dumitra Costache, deputy chairman of the people's council of Bratovesti Commune, Dolj County; and others participated in religious weddings or baptisms, and some of these people submitted to the entire religious ceremony used on these occasions and set the style for giving considerable sums of money as gifts.

A more unusual case took place in Sacel Commune, Maramures County, where Elena Grad, secretary of the commune party committee and mayor of the commune, had no qualms about participating in the dedication ceremony for the commune church; in addition, she gave a speech before the altar. But this was not all. Demonstrating a crass political myopia and a total ideological eclipse, after the service, together with her husband and other officials of the commune, she accepted the invitation of the parish priest to participate in the dinner given by him, which, of course, took place in accordance with all the church regulations.

There is another aspect of the phenomenon which we are attacking. Some party and state activists, aware of the fact that direct participation in religious rituals is incompatible with their political and social position and, if it is made public, would result in their punishment, resort, with increasing frequency in recent times, to a rather cheap stratagem--they move the religious ceremony from the church to their home or they send members of their family to the church in their place, while they actually remain the real managers of the respective weddings and baptisms. This is only a stage device, permeated with a big dose of hypocrisy--and it is just as condemnable.

Ionel Balaci, secretary of the commune committee and mayor of Otesani, Vilcea County, assumed such a position. Two years ago, he arranged some religious weddings, sending to the church in one case his sister and her husband, and in the other case his mother-in-law and father-in-law. The mayor and his wife were listed on the wedding invitation as "nuni" [the people who give the bride away] and they were, actually the "spiritual parents," principals of the ceremony.

Or another example of the same type: Viorica Fronea, secretary of the commune party committee and mayor of Vlonesti Commune, Iasi County, had a religious wedding ceremony for one of her sons. The godmother was the secretary of the general school in the commune; the religious ceremony took place in the home of the bride's father. The amount of money collected as a wedding present on this occasion, quite "enormous" according to one of the guests, was more than 100,000 lei.

Constantin Morostes, assistant secretary--for propaganda matters!--of the party committee in Simand Commune, Arad County had a religious baptism ceremony for his child.

Other activists, like Petru Mindrea, assistant secretary of the party committee in Ezeris Commune, Caras-Severin County, have gotten into the habit of participating in religious weddings and baptisms--and in the parties which are always held on these occasions--while devoting themselves with much less zeal to the tasks for which they are getting paid.

Of course, such actions are ultimately punished after the reports reach the higher party bodies. They represent different aspects of the same phenomenon of ideological confusion, more exactly, the blotting out of all boundaries between the clear party and state duties and the written and unwritten obligations of the activist, who is obligated not to make any concession to

mysticism. But the measures used to punish them reflect a weak spirit of exactingness on the part of the party organs and organizations to which these people belong: "reprimands," "a vote of censure," and, in rare cases, "a vote of censure with a warning" and removal from their positions.

The natural question is: Why is a mistaken attitude of understanding shown in regard to such practices, which are in flagrant disharmony with the ideology of our party and with its philosophical principles? Why is no stand taken and why are they sometimes regarded as insignificant, somewhat natural acts?

It is a serious matter that there are county, municipality and commune party organs which do not always know how the cadres assigned to carry on political, economic and cultural activity are behaving, even cadres in their own ranks. How effective is the inspection activity exercised by the members of the boureaus of these party committees assigned in the localities, the joint councils, the communes and the villages if they do not note such practices in time or, if they do become aware of them, if they do not inform the party organ and do not take a firm stand against those who are involved in such situations?

Some conclusions come forth clearly as a result of the presentation of all these cases. First, the exact relations existing in our society among the party, the state and the church must be discussed and fully explained in the respective party organs and organizations and the incompatibility between the philosophy of our party, its moral code, and the noble quality of a communist and flirting with practices which are based on anachronistic, mystical concepts must be stressed with all decisiveness. And, last but not least, there must be a party-minded, prompt and firm attitude toward all those party members who knowingly violate the fundamental ideological principles which they have been obliged--with their admission to the party--to apply precisely.

CSO: 2700/207

MEASURES TO REDUCE TRAFFIC ACCIDENTS DISCUSSED BY MILITIA OFFICIAL

Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 19 Feb 81 p 5

[Interview with Col Victor Beda, chief of the Directorate for Traffic in the General Inspectorate of the Militia, by Petre Popa: "Safe, Civilized Highway Traffic--A Goal Which Can Be Achieved by Strengthening Order and Discipline in the Ranks of All Automobile Drivers and Pedestrians"]

[Excerpts] Question: What are the statistics on highway traffic in 1982 compared to 10 years ago?

Answer: In 1982, the number of automobiles is three times as large as it was 10 years ago. More cars are registered in Bucharest alone than there were in the whole country, including Bucharest, 10 years ago. In order to get the total picture of the increase in traffic, we must also take into consideration the tens of thousands of trucks, the many tractors and agricultural machines and the approximately 3 million bicycles.

Question: Even under these conditions, the statistics you have given us show a reduction in the number of highway accidents.

Answer: Indeed, in 1981 the number of traffic deaths was 112 less than in 1980 and the number of persons injured was 173 less, continuing the decreases in deaths and injuries recorded in the past three years. This reduction is a result of measures established by joint action of all factors with functions and responsibilities in this sphere.

Question: Nevertheless, a large number of accidents are still occurring.

Answer: As long as an average of 10-12 serious accidents occur each day, we cannot say that we are satisfied with reductions of accidents in recent years. This was the purpose of the recent national conference--to identify new methods and practical and effective solutions to improve highway safety.

Question: What are the principal causes of the accidents?

Answer: Excessive speed. Last year 28 percent of the accidents which were the fault of the driver were due to excessive speed. But the most serious cause, especially in regard to the violence of the accidents, is alcohol.

Lack of attention and fatigue are also causes of accidents. Statistics show that more than 70 percent of the accidents took place in the afternoon and evening. And there is the question of the "problem driver," the person who flagrantly and repeatedly violates traffic regulations, with aggressive behavior behind the wheel and lack of discipline. In 1981, drivers were penalized for no less than 117,000 traffic violations, illegal turns, and parking violations. The use of state vehicles for business other than that of the state often results in very serious accidents. This is why, in 1981, the traffic services of the militia had to take more than 5,000 "problem drivers" off the road.

Question: What category of drivers--professional or nonprofessional--has the most accidents?

Answer: Some 57 percent of the accidents are the fault of nonprofessional drivers. There are counties which have higher percentages than this national average: more than 65 percent in Dolj and Harghita and more than 70 percent in Arges, Mures and Vaslui. Therefore, it is necessary to improve the forms and methods of training future nonprofessional drivers. This should be done in all schools for nonprofessional drivers, since there are still big gaps in the level of training of students from one school to another. In Giurgiu and Teleorman, the percentage of candidates who passed the driver's test in 1981 was only 21 and 25 percent, respectively, while in Tulcea and Maramures, it was 74 and 91 percent, respectively.

Question: Maybe the examining commissions were "kinder" in Tulcea and Maramures.

Answer: On the contrary. And I know what I am talking about. In schools where serious and responsible work is done, where there are diligent professors and instructors--last year more than 300 poorly trained or inaccurate instructors had their teaching credentials taken away from them--the results are evident, not only in the examinations, but later, in the behavior of the students in traffic.

Question: How many drivers received driving licenses last year?

Answer: More than 140,000. This figure is continually rising. Therefore, highway traffic safety of the future will depend on the way in which future drivers have been trained. They will have to master the norms of accident prevention and also they must know about the mechanism of the car so that they will be able to detect and remedy simple technical defects. A great number of accidents are caused by technical defects, which prompted us last year to take off the road, temporarily, almost 35,000 vehicles which presented real dangers for traffic safety.

Question: The annual technical inspections of automobiles have begun in units authorized by the militia throughout the country. Are there any supplementary requirements compared to last year?

Answer: Only one, essential requirement: an increase in the quality of all operations executed and, in particular, those which directly affect traffic safety: checking the steering and the brakes, adjusting the headlights and the carburetion in order to reduce fuel consumption and pollution.

Question: In what major areas will the militia traffic officers and others act in 1982 to improve traffic safety and reduce the number of accidents?

Answer: There are three areas upon which we will concentrate our attention this year: combatting excessive speed, combatting driving under the influence of alcohol, and adopting preventive and educational measures for the disciplining of pedestrians. Some 39 percent of the traffic accidents in the country were the fault of pedestrians and in Bucharest, pedestrians were the cause of 60 percent of the accidents. In addition to these areas of priority interest, we will continue to work against all things which may cause accidents, beginning with violations of traffic regulations, to combat technical defects in the automobiles, and to promote the practice of wearing seat belts. According to studies made in Romania and in other countries, 6 out of 10 persons who died in traffic accidents would not have died if they had been wearing seat belts.

CSO: 2700/209

ABUSES OF SICK LEAVE BY FEMALE FACTORY WORKERS

Bucharest FEMEIA in Romanian Feb 82 p 10

[Article by Niki Georgescu: "To Respect Discipline Means To Do Your Duty as a Worker"]

[Excerpts] Iulia Stamatoiu, director general of the Industrial Central for Knitwear, told me that the decree establishing regulations for the strengthening of order and discipline in work is a very welcome law for those who have trouble with discipline. "The decree affects not only workers but also engineers and directors. The publication of such a decree was prompted by lack of attention on the part of directors of work units, processes and workplaces who tolerated such negative states of affairs. I understand the letter and spirit of the decree to be as follows: to respect discipline means to do your duty as a worker. In every workplace, at every level of the hierarchy. Not only in industry, but also in agriculture, in education and in health."

Viorica Angelescu, secretary of the party committee in the Central and chairman of the Council of Workers, added: "We can no longer accept into our ranks people without professional and moral conscientiousness. The decree stirs up those people who have trouble with order and discipline, makes them aware that they must bear, directly and without any backtalk, the consequences of their lack of discipline and lack of responsibility toward the tasks of the enterprise and the collective to which they belong. Indeed, the spirit of the decree offers the legislative framework for a public opinion effort, which has been existent in our factory for a long time, against lack of discipline, delays, and poor quality work. In each workshop and in each trade union group there is a discipline commission in which violations of discipline are discussed. Therefore it is very good that we now have instruments for more severe punishment."

Georgeta Marcovici, chairman of the women's commission, vice chairman of the Council of Workers, added: "This is especially important since although the discipline commissions take prompt action, a movement of 'pity' and compassion has also been 'operating' (and probably not only in our central). We would say: 'Let us leave her alone this time; it is hard for a woman.' (And the majority of our workers are women.) Excuse-her, excuse-her, but how long?"

Georgeta Marcovici told me that that women's commission has proposed to undertake a number of actions with young women such as Ana Iloiu, Vasilica Petre, and Ioana Eftimie, who leave their machines to go to the cafeteria, to smoke a cigarette or for "conversation," in order to make them understand the possible consequences of their acts: outages, losses of raw materials, loss of energy, and loss of time while repairs are being made. "But the problem which disturbs us the most is that of medical leave, in the most cases, for young mothers. We have made several investigations at the homes of women on medical leave, for their children or for themselves. I must tell you--some certificates were not authentic and others, even worse, were falsified."

"I want you to know that I have nothing against women," foreman Mihai Voicu, head of the knitted sock section, told me. "We are the first section to promote women to positions of assistant foreman and foreman. Please believe me when I say that some women, of course, have difficulties and others, one might say, have made a habit of it. Abusing the rights which the law on mothers with small children gives to them, they go from one period of leave to another and appear only on payday to collect their compensation. Women like Floarea Argesanu, or Mariana Julea, or Nasta Mighin."

"Or Alexandrina Ionita," adds Sanda Deleanu. "Ionita was an engineer on probation in the same section who produced dubious medical certificates during the probationary period. The polyclinic which issued the certificates told us that they were false. Later we found out that she 'filled them in' and 'added' the number of days on the certificate."

"If I may close the discussion with some humor," said Maria Lefter, outstanding worker who has never left work early and has never come to work late and who, although she has two small children, has never taken any other leave than maternity leave. "The decree will also sober up some men who still drink. So I think that this measure is welcome not only on the job but also at home, in the family. Since, there might be fewer fights and fewer divorces (since many divorces are caused by drinking)."

CSO: 2700/204

REPORT ON RESULTS IN RETRAINING TEACHING CADRES

Bucharest TRIBUNA SCOLII in Romanian 16 Jan 82 p 3

[Article by Costin Stefanescu]

[Text] During the period between the first and second quarter of this academic year, after strict planning, the retraining courses for teaching cadres in all specialties unfolded. They were organized by the Ministry of Education and Instruction, through higher education institutes and pedagogical lyceums.

The organization of the retraining courses was preceded by a swap-of-experience type conference, initiated by our ministry in conjunction with the Union of Trade Unions in Education, Science and Culture, held in Timisoara. The attendance included prorectors, chairmen of trade unions in higher education institutes, heads of a number of pedagogy chairs and other cadres from the institutions involved, who are responsible for the advanced training of teaching personnel, directors of central university libraries and other cadres concerned with retraining teaching personnel in preschool, primary, and gymnasial education.

In this extensive development of retraining of a significant part of teaching personnel from all over the country, when reports were given by highly qualified cadres with ample teaching experience and when discussions and demonstrations were conducted, an important program was implemented for professional advanced training -- specialized, political and pedagogical -- which is required for the continuous upgrading of the qualitative standard of education.

During my discussions with many participants -- educators, teachers and professors in various specialties -- I noted the unanimous assessment that this year, more than in any previous years -- as part of the advanced training efforts -- the focus has been on the basic requirements of the instructional-educational process, with precedence given the new issues -- scientific, technical, economic, cultural and ideological -- emanating from the documents of the 12th RCP Congress, from the directives of Nicolae Ceausescu: absorption of the new instructional methods; expansion of laboratory projects and practical applications; enhancement of the input of each discipline into the patriotic, revolutionary education of students, into the formation of the dialectical-materialistic outlook of the world.

Well appreciated were the practical demonstrations and visits to some research institutes and production units. These were projects which involved great educational and initiatory value in terms of utilization and integration of modern instructional methods against the backdrop of the structuring of an active-formative education.

Noteworthy has been the participation -- greater than in previous similar courses -- of teaching cadres planned to benefit by the retraining program that unfolded during the winter vacation. During the same period, the Ministry of Education and Instruction organized courses of advanced training for teaching cadres with duties of guidance and supervision in county school inspectorates, retraining courses for school inspectors in specialties: Romanian language and literature, Hungarian language and literature, chemistry, physics, physical education, and also for personnel and advanced training inspectors and legal cadres in school inspectorates. Moreover, it is anticipated that by the end of this academic year, similar courses will be organized for school inspectors who are responsible for the other education specialties. In the retraining activity, at the end of December 1981 and beginning of January 1982, these courses also encompassed supervisory cadres from school inspectorates of counties and of Bucharest Municipality.

We must emphasize that in all these retraining projects -- with a marked practical and applied character -- for school inspectors, conducted under the direct supervision and in the presence of executive personnel, of directors and other cadres from the Ministry of Education and Instruction, the attendance included academicians and other prominent personalities of higher education, science, technology and culture, specialized personnel from the leading bodies of some economic ministries and research agencies and production units, of children and youth organizations.

During the week that preceded the opening of the courses for the second quarter, in Timisoara, in the presence of University Prof. Dr. Aneta Spornic, member of the Political Executive Committee of the CC of the RCP, minister of education and instruction, a retraining course was conducted for school inspectors general from all Romanian counties and Bucharest Municipality. At the meeting for the opening of the courses, Petre Danica, first secretary of Timis County RCP Committee, warmly welcomed theparticipants to Timis County. He pointed out concerns of the local party organs with strengthening the leading role of the party in the Timis school system, with continuously upgrading the education of students in this area of the country.

In her address, University Prof. Dr. Aneta Spornic amply described the current and long-range efforts of the Ministry of Education and Instruction and pointed out the tasks allotted the Romanian school for implementing the decisions of the 12th RCP Congress, the directives of party secretary general Nicolae Ceausescu, on training the work force and educating the youth in the revolutionary spirit.

Dwelling on the need for exemplarily applying the provisions of the Law on Education and Instruction, the minister of education and instruction emphasized the specific requirements of training the students for work, at all levels and in all specialties of education, beginning with kindergarten and up to the graduates who will be integrated in production, in social-useful activity. Furthermore, she recommended specific projects for each educational cycle and level for fostering dedication to work, eagerness to serve the people, boundless devotion to the country and to the beloved leader of our party.

In regard to the organization of the practical training of students the speaker emphasized the need for most actively promoting a new concept on assimilation of trades by trainees in school shops, principally in the context of technical disciplines under the instructional curricula, so that the training of the work force may involve not only a quantitative process but also -- and specifically -- a qualitative process. The minister of education and instruction indicated: In this respect, we must display greater initiative to upgrade the activity in school shops and especially in industrial enterprises. Discussed were facets of the activity of scholastic and vocational orientation of students, conceived as a permanent process, which involves teaching cadres, parents and pupils alike.

Dr. Aneta Spornic pointed out the need for promoting the scholastic and vocational orientation of students mainly through various educational disciplines and directly in light of the cadre requirements of each county and of the overall economy. She also dealt with matters relative to the need for more actively training the students' parents and utilizing school psychologists and the entire aptitude testing system, primarily in light of the cadre needs of the industry and agriculture of each county.

The minister of education and instruction placed much emphasis on the need for training the younger generation at a higher qualitative level, for educating them in the revolutionary spirit, in the spirit of the communist ethical values. She stressed the need for promoting the cooperative relations between the school and the children and youth organizations. Also pointed out were matters involving the need for the use on an overall scale of instructional techniques that correspond to the mass character of our education, that require the teacher to work with the entire class and ensure a minimum of knowledge and habits for the actual and complete promotion of each generation of students. Dwelling on the need for differential and individualized work with all students of each grade, the minister of education indicated that the school inspectorates ought to be more concerned with verifying the uniform training of students and, on an immediate basis, with applying specific knowledge standards at the primary and gymnasial levels and also with better utilizing the single topic tests.

University Prof. Dr. Aneta Spornic dwellt on matters involving the activity of school inspectorates in the area of advanced training of teaching cadres, as a permanent program for all the educational staff, on the greater concern of school inspectorates with the network and specialization of educational facilities in each county, on problems posed by demographic rises in school population. She placed much emphasis on the need for enhancing order and discipline in all education, in the spirit of the recent Decree of the State Council of the Socialist Republic of Romania.

Stress was laid on the need for exemplary conduct in school, family and society on part of all workers in education and very firm mobilization of the opinion of teaching collectives in all educational units against any violation of the provisions of the Law on Education and Instruction, against any violation of the standards that regulate teaching activity and against any action that makes the violation involved incompatible with the noble mission of educator.

Special attention was paid to the major issues regarding the continuous upgrading of the style and methods of work of school inspectorates, the shift of the focus in their activity in educational units so that they may expeditiously and efficiently participate in remedying the possible deficiencies noted, for close supervision of implementation of the tasks by the teaching staff and executive bodies of educational units.

In closing her address, the minister of education and instruction requested an increased input of county councils for education and instruction and of all the other parties that, locally, are involved in educational activities and also organization of exchanges of experience in educational units that gained most valuable experience. She also urged the holding of periodical analyses of the activity of school units in the county concerned.

In the context of the program for advanced training of school inspectors general, a swap-of-experience type work trip was organized. It involved educational facilities in the Caras-Severin County. Participants included University Prof. Dr. Aneta Spornic, minister of education and instruction, and Nicolae Busui, first secretary of the RCP Committee of Caras-Severin County. At the school of the Sacu Commune and in the Caransebes pedagogical, mathematics-physics and No 2 industrial lyceums, which were inspected, there was a lively dialog of teaching cadres in the school units involved with the school inspectors general participating in the retraining course and the minister of education and instruction who answered the many questions asked.

The projects under the teacher development program involving the educational staff and many of the cadres from county school inspectorates all over the country have provided a very valuable input into the specialized, political and pedagogical retraining of the participants. They were continuously monitored by the minister of education and instruction, the deputy ministers of education and instruction, directors and other specialized cadres of our ministry.

All the information gathered under this retraining program must be used in the school network, in educational work, in the activity of guidance and supervision, under the specific conditions of the activity being conducted during this quarter by the teaching cadres. Moreover, the work for advancement must be continued as a highly efficient procedure for the exemplary implementation of our party policy in the field of education.

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CSO: 2700

EXPENSE OF SERBIA'S YOUTH CONGRESS HELD EXCESSIVE

General Discussion

Belgrade STUDENT in Serbo-Croatian 13 Jan. 82 p 2

[Article by Dusan Mi'ic: "Communism Via the Intercontinental Hotel"]

[Text] The congress is approaching. Oh, how fine it is to come to that meeting, to be together in our capital city of Belgrade, to get together in that international conference center on the Sava, that pyramid without a top, that is transparent and so blue. The walls of that structure are of glass and mirrors, clear streams of water that have gone vertical, impenetrable basements and catacombs, and the hidden eyes of the cameras monitor and see everything. At the screen sit people specially trained to see to our security. It is paradise on earth, it is a step into the future. But enough romance.

This congress of the Serbian SSO [Socialist Youth League] cost 17,335,000 dinars, or $415,000. And who is going to pay it--the Socialist Youth League, of course, not me, that's for sure. The leasing of the hall with technical services cost 2.5 million dinars, board and room of the participants 5.2 million dinars, and then pocket money, and evenings at the theater and going here and there. By and large this amount is greater than half of the resources allocated annually to this esteemed and overesteemed league.

I believe that honest people, young men and women, are elected and sent to the congress. But I also say that not a one of them will be honest when he leaves this congress. After all, it is dishonest to spend so much hard-earned money to no purpose. And why I say "to no purpose" you will learn from the figures which followed, which we came upon in the columns of our press.

Contribution to Discussion in the Congress of the Serbian SSO

Youth officials have fine salaries. The coefficients are on their side. Scientific-bureaucratic job analysis has helped them to correctly estimate their value, and the resources granted to them are distributed in the most correct way. Thus the coefficient of the chairman of the Serbian SSO Republic Conference is 3.10, that of the secretary 2.80, and so on--the smaller the fish, the lower the coefficient. After all, these coefficients are set according to level of responsibility. The basic level of responsibility carries a value of

9,000 dinars. That is the amount received by those who are in direct contact with us. The president of the SSO, for example, would not answer if you asked him something, since you are not on his level. His level is 3.10, and if you manage to climb that high--then he will answer you. The chairman of the Loznica Opstina Conference of the SSO, say, has the highest monthly pay in Serbia. That is a mess already. But let us quote only OMLADINSKE NOVINE [YOUTH NEWSPAPER]. And let us see: "The truth about the political and social status of youth officials is rounded out by the new method of fulltime employment in the Serbian SSO introduced 2 years ago, but still unknown to many people. All those elected to fulltime positions retain the status of workers in the OUR [organization of associated labor] they came from(!). They receive their personal income there, except that the organ of the SSO pays the difference up to the level of the salary of the office, and the organization of associated labor pays the personal income in full. At the end of their term, they resume work where they had been previously." And what is one to say about that? What connections are there between the SSO and OUR's, except those established by the system? It is clear that there is no necessarily organic connection whatsoever in this entire train of events.

But we should also say why they are paid so much, since it is still assumed that they do nevertheless do something. Let us quote the figures published in VECERNJE NOVOSTI [EVENING NEWS]: "The Republic Conference of the Serbian SSO had losses of 12 million dinars, or $285,000." There are also that many reasons, but we will cite only a few of them. The debt from the previous administration was 7.9 million, and the present administration is washing its hands of that, which is ridiculous and unacceptable. After all, if these people have taken the positions of those before them, then they have also assumed their obligations. Milan Obucina, chairman of the Presidium of the Serbian Republic Conference of the SSO, says: "The most important thing is that in funding our activities we spent even resources not paid by the sociopolitical communities." For that people really should go to jail.

If we dive a bit deeper, if we tighten the noose a bit, we will see that there is something else involved. That other thing is that SR Serbia has discharged all its obligations to the SSO. SAP [Socialist Autonomous Province] Vojvodina drastically reduced its contribution(!), while SAP Kosovo did not give a single dinar(!!). I do not know whose problem this is and why this problem is not solved once and for all.

And then, over the first 11 months of this year (1981) the presidium of the SSO conference had a loss of 4.1 million dinars, or $100,000. Those at fault are these: the cumbersome work community [office staff], the personal incomes of appointed officials and people on personnel lists, traveling expenses, hotel bills and printing expenses, office supplies....

Our old and cherished acquaintance Mila Korugic also had a few words to say for NOVOSTI (she is a member of the Presidium of the Serbian Republic Conference of the SSO): "If it is taken into account that we took over a rather shaky financial package, then it can be said that the activities we planned were unrealistic." And why did you take it over? Why not, you were well paid. "It also needs to be said that our numerous shortcomings are also to blame for the poor

conduct of business, above all the cumbersome work community of the republic conference and undefined job duties." The thesis: they are poor and their shortcomings are inestimable, i.e., expensive. The antithesis: the work community is cumbersome, i.e., incompetent. The synthesis: job duties have not been defined, that is, they do not exist. Does one need to be very smart to get the right picture of all this?

Hear, Hear!

Mila continues: "Nor has the question been resolved of elected officials whose term of office has expired." Those individuals came from the local level. They are like Russian princes, they do nothing, but they receive rent. "Their salary continues to be paid, since no other place has been furnished them, and at this point we cannot simply say goodbye to them." And why can you not say goodbye to them? Is it possible that you are supporting them because you feel it your duty not to say goodbye to them? Well, so long Mila, God help you. Everything is clear, everything is clear, only good horizons are needed.

Look at it this way: If someone comes from the local level, is it a necessity that he be cut off from it for the rest of his life? Why not return to the local level? Is it a question of money? Yes, yes. It is a question of money. And the question of honor? That is a good question. But it is only a question. It is not money. If someone has come live and healthy from somewhere and later does not go back there live and healthy, then it is clear that his occupation has become corrumpo--broken up into little pieces. Since what that person is doing is to shatter something so that no one can put it together again. And what is being shattered is the base [constituency], i.e., unity with the constituency, since an unbridgeable, unique and one-way gap has been established. Come on, Mila, tell us something more:

"The expenditure for the work of elected persons, nonstaff personnel and activists of the PK [Presidium of the Conference] of the Serbian SSO was 9 percent more than was planned. The plan called for 38,000 dinars for hotel accommodations of elected persons not provided apartments as perquisites of their office (hear, hear!--author's note), but 108,198 dinars were spent. That is, the chairman of one commission of the republic conference (the name! the name!--author's note) lived for more than half a year in the Jugoslavija Hotel, and that was paid for him by the youth organization of Serbia."

Bravo, Mila, you have said it all. Yet after all that hotel is still cheaper than an apartment. That sin can be forgiven. But we will not allow such a trifle to detract our attention from the real issue, since: "More than was planned went for per diems for official travel within the country." (All of this taken from NOVOSTI.) We have seen that no work was done, and we therefore wonder what sort of official trips these were. "The plan called for 50,000 dinars for foreign travel, but 102,769 dinars were spent. For the republic celebration of Youth Day 1,609,533 dinars were spent, instead of 1.05 million dinars, and most of that went to remunerate nonstaff personnel and for hotel bills. Printing services were up 750 percent(!), the purchase of tires 71 percent, and so on, and so on." It simply makes a man mad. Youth Day, hotels, foreign travel.

Ah, now here is self-criticism! Bozidar Vuckovic, member of the Presidium of the Serbian SSO, also a member of the Leskovac Interopstina Conference of the SSO, says: "It would be naive to dump all the blame for the present financial condition of the SSO Republic Conference on the work community, since we on the presidium adopted the financial plan. We also could have asked for regular financial reports. It is not right for us to require responsibility of others, but to evade that question in our own case."

One is simply struck dumb and wants to cry.

Proposed Resolution of the Congress of SSO Serbia

When all the facts mentioned above are established at the congress, when it is shown that nothing was done, that these people who sit there and say that they did nothing though they were employed the whole time and were receiving good salaries for their work, well then. I know that they will not do this. They will raise their hands, they will say: Look, our hands are clean. We have many shortcomings, we are incompetent, we do not have the ability, we are helpless, we promise you.

I therefore propose that our delegates to that congress promise that they will straighten out and that they will repay that debt with their work and that beyond that they will work for the benefit of us all. We will trust them once again this time. We will go off on voluntary labor projects and cost this country more than we will contribute to its prosperity with our own hands. We will watch how paper is consumed by our newspapers just to write about how some of our organizations are not doing anything. We will rejoice about congresses at which our delegates meet though, according to their own words, it would be better for them to go to a rehabilitation center where they might get a bit more red blood.

But let us not sail off into those wonderful and distant areas, let us return to earth a bit, painlessly if possible, without striking the top of a mountain or the pyramid, and say just a few more words. We seriously recommend to the congress of the Serbian SSO that it first put its own house in order, straighten out its own affairs as an organized force. Let it first solve the problem of Vojvodina and Kosovo, which, judging by their behavior, are refusing to participate any longer as equals in this community of ours. Let them first solve that, and then we will trust the Youth League to be capable of leading us to communism. Until then--goodbye. Our destination is not the congress, but communism. And if the SSO is weak, then let them send us an invitation. We will come to help.

Experienced Activist Speaks Out

Belgrade OMLADINSKE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian 9 Jan 82 p 9

[Letter to the editor by Marinko M. Vucinic, former member of a commission for preparation of the SSO congress, and editor's response: "Parade in Potemkin Villages"]

[Text] Comrades,

I am among the "old" youth activists. I followed several youth congresses and I know what their range is. I do not mean to be malicious, but the request of the presidium of the republic conference for 17,335,000 dinars to cover the expenses of the congress is beyond all good taste, not to mention the political aspects of such a proposal. We will never manage to create an up-to-date youth organization if we do not dedicate ourselves to work for the rank and file of our organization. No one has ever managed to capture the wind, and likewise the revolution cannot be developed without strict ethics.

I want to present my view which I have every moral right to hold. Probably a discussion of this proposal by the presidium of the republic conference of the SSO should be initiated in primary organizations, at least in those places where they really exist.

Modesty is a rare and valuable virtue which determines the ethical profile not only of the individual person, but also of the revolutionary movement as a whole. Modesty, to put it figuratively, was at one time the middle name of our youth movement, which is the historical base and inspiration of the present-day youth organization. An appeal for modesty should not be taken as a demand for humility, but as an historical imperative to preserve the moral identity of our revolutionary movement. I would like to quote an interesting remark by Fromm in his book "Marksovo shvatanje coveka" [Marx' Conception of Man]: "If the meaning of socialism is to be understood, one must understand Marx' distinction between man's authentic needs and man's synthetically and artificially produced needs."

The report of the Serbian Republic Conference of the SSO on how much the congress is costing seems at first to be an attempt to make a distinction between necessary needs and those others. However, if we carefully analyze this report, we see that it outlines with exceptional clarity the state of mind in our top-level youth forums. It is a question of what predominates in this document: bureaucratic blindness or a lack of good taste, official exclusiveness and self-satisfaction, or the spirit of a youth leadership which has "choked on rhetoric and hypocrisy." This document shows the incapacity of the youth forum to see the situation in the organization as it is and to stop treating the primary youth organizations as immature children which need to be led through a congress hall all decked out for ceremonies. Sometimes it is possible to avoid irony: I wonder how the proposed budget of expenses would have looked if the presidium of the republic conference of the SSO had not been "guided by the goals of stabilization"? How many billions would then have been involved?

It has always been expensive to build Potemkin villages. The sponsors of the proposed expenses for the congress supposedly are aware of that, which is why, guided by "modesty," they have tried to select only those costs which were indispensable and could not be done without. One essential question interests me. How many primary organizations of the SSO would approve these "modest" expenses? But probably the organization's rank and file does not know about the "turning of faucets" and about decoration.

The difference between the humorous and the grotesque, between amazement and suspicion, is lost when one looks at certain items on the proposed expense sheet. Let us take them in order.

First of all, we need to check what happened to the books which were printed for the last congress and to see whether they ever reached youth activists or are actually inventories of the opstina conferences of the SSO. It really is generous to provide that primary organizations will obtain for their use books worth 200 million dinars. This is like a horse's dose which is being injected in youth organizations. After reading these books from the congress we must anticipate an exceptional burst of enthusiasm. Would it not have been more practical for the SSO republic conference to use those funds for more constructive aid to primary youth organizations, which have been left to themselves, without any worthwhile connections with youth forums at the upper level?

Would it not be possible for the delegates to bring to the congress their own briefcases and writing materials?

Certainly we should expect that our theaters and museums would be filled to overflowing during the congress, when the great numbers of delegates have come together.

Housing, food, renting the hall, traveling expenses and municipal transportation are decisive expenses, and truly they cannot be avoided. But what hall is the congress to be held in, where will the delegates be housed, in what "student restaurant" will they be fed, and in what parking lot will the "buses" used for transportation be parked? The congress would not lose a bit of its historical significance if it were not held in the Sava Convention Center.

A reserve faucet was also provided from which only 20 million dinars can flow for miscellaneous expenses. Those "miscellaneous expenses" have always bothered me, and they always seemed like a blank check to cover arbitrary expenditure rather than a worthwhile item in the financial plan.

Marinko M. Vucinic
27 5th of March Street, Belgrade

P.S. At one time I was the member of a commission for preparation of the congress. Once the commission was set up, I was never summoned to a single meeting. The important thing was to satisfy the formal requirement.

[Response of the editor]

Marinko, it seems you are right. The specialists in the presidium of the Serbian youth organization made fine calculations how 1.7 billion old dinars and a bit of change could be spent. It is certain that the congress would be a brilliant one with that much money, but there isn't that much dough!

Aroused by your letter, we made a few inquiries as to how much the other youth congresses will cost (and there will be an abundance of them this year). We will say it at once, they are all closing the faucets with determination--they are choosing more modest convention sites, the length of the congress is being shortened, there are no briefcases, badges or other trifles, and in some cases the number of participants is even being reduced.... With restrictions like that the financial costs of the other organizers have truly turned out to be more modest.

The federal congress is supposed to cost 1.4 billion old dinars. For the sake of comparison, the one 4 years ago cost 500 million more. It will be in session only 2 days, and there will be fewer participants. Young people of Croatia have been allocated 500 million. Their last congress cost 875 million, and they estimate that this one should cost approximately the same. Which means that they have to line up another 300-400 million. Of course, Congress '82 cannot be like that one in '78 for the same money. And it won't be: instead of 1,300, there will be 600 participants, it will not be held in the Lisinskiy, but in the student center, and only bus and train tickets will be reimbursed.... In Bosnia-Hercegovina they asked for 900 million, and they got 500, but they think they will actually spend about 700. If they wanted to organize everything the way it was 4 years ago, it would cost 1.3 billion. Which means that there will also be quite a bit of pruning there. In Macedonia as well it has already been agreed that the congress can cost 300 million and not a dinar more.

We have learned that the presidium of the Serbian youth organization is revising its original luxury plan. There is a great bustle to think of ways of making the congress less expensive. Attention should be paid to the proposal of the president of the youth organization in Belgrade to the effect that the young people of the capital would act as hosts for the participants in the congress. Without luxury hotels or other expenditures for entertainment, the expenses of the congress of the Serbian youth organization will certainly be lower.

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COUNSELOR KESETOVIC QUERIED ON DISINTEGRATIVE PROCESSES

Belgrade DUGA in Serbo-Croatian No 205, 2 Jan 82 pp 27-29

[Interview with Dr Muhamed Kesetovic, counselor on the staff of the SFRY State Presidency, by Dragan Barjakterevic: "It Is Not a Question of Making Loud Noises"; date and place not specified]

[Text] Muhamed Kesetovic, doctor of political sciences, has in recent years turned the attention of the public toward new and fresh ideas and theoretical work on the development of our society and the fate of socialist self-management. A month ago he published a study entitled "Samoupravno socijalisticko zajednistvo" [The Self-Managing Socialist Community]. This book has aroused a great interest among specialists. He began the study with Tito's words: "The boundaries of the federal units in federal Yugoslavia are not boundaries of division, but boundaries of linkage. Those boundaries, if I might so portray them, should be something like those white lines on a marble column." Dr Kesetovic, who is a counselor in the SFRY State Presidency, also likes to recall another of Tito's ideas, which is topical even today: "Without brotherhood and unity there can be no strong and happy Yugoslavia, and without a strong and happy Yugoslavia, there can be no strong and happy Croatia, Serbia, Macedonia, Montenegro, Slovenia, Bosnia-Hercegovina. All of this is complementary." At times, unfortunately, some people forget this. Why? That is what we talked about with Dr Kesetovic.

[Question] What is happening with Yugoslav consensus? We are confronted by attempts at disintegration. What does the danger consist of?

[Answer] You will probably be surprised when I tell you that in spite of the manifestly pronounced fear of disintegration, things are going very well with our consensus. When I say this, I am thinking above all of the fact that today there is a great deal of talk about our consensus, that is, that our public has become extremely sensitive when this topic is raised and especially when there is talk about cases of disrupting that consensus. In and of itself this indicates that the cause of community is in firm hands, on a firm foundation and that there are no reasons for any particular alarm. It is another matter that there is a great deal of resentment and dissatisfaction about things which objectively weaken consensus and which are caused by precisely those who ought to do most to preserve it. In that sense I think that our public's reactions are such as to indicate a high degree of politicization and critical maturity of

our public, which refuses to be blind and indifferent to attempts at disintegration. Our spirit of community has passed through several phases, as indeed has the revolution. At this point it would be good to insist on a strengthening of that basis, form and directions of consensus which are offered and made possible by this phase of the revolution. It would be dangerous to be taken in today by outdated ideas concerning the sense of community, and such ideas are present with us.

[Question] What are you referring to?

[Answer] I am thinking of unitaristic consensus, since it, through the disagreement that exists among the republics and provinces, is confronted in the consciousness of the so-called ordinary man with the condition that existed, as though it supposedly was not that way in the period of unitarism, so that thought is then taken back to that old consensus. However, our agreements and disagreements have lived through that phase, and we can no longer seek the basis of our consensus in it. We have to go further. Put simply, it is our revolution that binds us together. Accordingly, we can realistically see prospects for consensus only in further prospects for the development of the revolution in which that consensus was conceived and born; the revolution was the vehicle of the community of consensus, and it in turn was the vehicle of the revolution. In this sense I think that we are now in a transitional period in which those ephemeral phenomena are emerging on the surface which create the impression that today we are less united than previously. In actuality that is not the case. Precisely because we are striving toward a greater degree of unity, it is rejecting those outdated relations and forms of disunity.

[Question] Who is responsible for preserving the sense of community?

[Answer] Who? Every man. This has indeed been expressed in our constitution, which in this sense is unique in the world, which holds that it is the right of every citizen to defend his country and that no one has the right to sign a capitulation. That force which bears the greatest responsibility for consensus is the League of Communists, that is, the members of the party. We can build this kind of system only on the supposition of an ideologically unified and firm League of Communists. However, the ideas of disunification in Yugoslavia are still very dangerous. Much has been invested in our community, a sea of blood was shed for it, and our people are sensitive to cases of disintegration. Incidentally, experience has shown that whenever we were united, we overcame all difficulties. It is clear to our people that we can preserve freedom and independence only through firm community, that every attempt, even the smallest one, at disintegration is a crack which Yugoslavia's "saviors" outside will hack at. And it is well known how much the meddling of the imperialist powers in the past has cost our peoples. Consequently, there is an awareness of this danger. It has also been shown that it is not difficult to enflame passions, especially when a favoring of a partial interest is involved.

Statism and Bureaucracy in Kosovo

[Question] How do you look upon the attempt at counterrevolution in Kosovo?

[Answer] Practically everything has been said about Kosovo at the last plenum of the LCY Central Committee, at which the policy platform was also adopted. However, the lessons and implications of the counterrevolution in Kosovo are lasting ones and we must always return to them. The events in Kosovo actually confirm how dangerous a lag in self-management is to our overall relations. Certainly there were several things which influenced what happened in Kosovo, but the most essential influence was exerted by the strengthening of statism and bureaucracy on the basis of a partial interest. Once it became consolidated, it became by definition as insatiable as Cerberus in the tendencies toward separation and toward glorification of one's own "exceptionalness."

From the standpoint of what is happening today, I think that relations were seriously disrupted, and self-management rhetoric is the last thing that will help in getting back on the desired course. What is needed, then, I am deeply convinced, is a far more resolute political battle, and that a battle above all of Albanian communists against their own reaction. The nationalism which flared up in the counterrevolution in Kosovo was not imposed from outside; it came as a consequence of the leading forces in the League of Communists bowing down to their own reaction and conservatism, and little by little it passed from being a force that encouraged that conservatism to being its standard-bearer. Accordingly, it is only from the opposite position that a way can be found out of that situation. By no means does this signify that the party members of other nationalities, both in Kosovo and outside it, cannot be of help here, but they will be of the greatest help if they do not allow those same forces to run rampant within their own community.

What has been written about Draginja Arsic and so on, those are horrifying things, it would be good if a blow was struck in this regard by party members who are Albanians in all the news media, especially their own, but at present one gets the impression that the political action is still lukewarm, that there are still people in responsible posts who should have been made very strictly accountable long ago. When I say this, I am not thinking of a broadening of the court trials, but of the severity of political action, since it is clear that the people who did this or supported it cannot occupy posts of any responsibility. As a matter of practical politics we could have named them and condemned them before sundown, but here 7 months have passed, and they are holding on. The responsibility for this is borne by members of the party, above all the most responsible Albanian members of the party.

Every Nationalism Is Counterrevolutionary

[Question] Do you agree that every one of our nationalisms is counterrevolutionary?

[Answer] In its tendency and by its nature every nationalism is reactionary, inhumane and aggressive--consequently, counterrevolutionary. Wherever, whenever, and in whatever form nationalism occurs, it is the offspring and creation of bourgeois society, it is bourgeois nationalism. In that sense it is both reactionary and conservative.

[Question] Nationalism and counterrevolution in Kosovo are not the first things which have burned us. Even earlier we have had harsh experiences with nationalism. Didn't we learn anything?

[Answer] Yes, certainly. But at least up to now we have overcome this more easily and in another way. In any case, over the last 10 years, since the production relations of self-management were checked, since statism began to gain strength, there has been a covering over of contradictions in society, since it is in the nature of the bureaucracy to cover up the contradictions. When those contradictions pile up, they are manifested in astounding forms. One wonders how all this is possible, when until yesterday everything was fine, how come this happens all of a sudden! But revolutionaries are revolutionaries because they aid the working class and all fighters for progress, for the new society, in revealing the contradictions in which society is moving. Then there is no surprise, since the contradictions are overcome and mitigated more easily and effectively through the internal struggle of contradictions with constant support so that that side to which the future belongs becomes stronger in that struggle, and that is the position of the working class.

[Question] All of these observations of yours can be applied to nationalism in Croatia, to nationalism and liberalism in Vojvodina and Serbia....

[Answer] Certainly. Our nationalism began to emerge first in the advanced republics and provinces as federal centralism and statism was decentralized. It began with what was referred to as the highway scandal, then there was the euphoria in Croatia, and then nationalism and liberalism in Vojvodina and Serbia. Was there a germ of nationalism at that time in the other republics and in Kosovo as well? The answer is Yes. And that in the same measure as it was there where it was so obvious and aggressive, since in both cases it manifested itself through statism. But in those communities we have mentioned it was materially stronger. The particularist-separatistic nationalism, that is, its forces, counted on having a stronger material foundation in the advanced communities and on having more to preserve through their manifestation. The reaction of the underdeveloped to that was simple: If they can act that way, so can we. It was the same food, then, for the underdeveloped as well. However, those forces in the underdeveloped communities did not come under attack at that time, but they became stronger and created the illusion that they were pure, while the others were not. That was the situation until the events broke out in Kosovo. Tito and Kardelj issued warnings.

[Question] But nationalism did not break out in Kosovo in March '81!

[Answer] True, it did make an appearance in '68, but only now in that most brutal and counterrevolutionary form. After all, the orientation of a portion of the leaders in Kosovo was constantly to spread the rumor and feeling: See how everyone is making progress, but Kosovo is lagging, they are not helping us, whatever is given is little, and so on. Never did they speak about how much solidarity Yugoslavia was showing in stimulating faster development in Kosovo, but they always talked about how they needed more! Thus the ordinary man was not aware what great efforts the community was making to develop Kosovo, and indeed that exceptional effort was even used for counterrevolutionary and

irredentist purposes, though objectively there was a possibility that brotherhood and community would become stronger precisely on the basis of that solidarity of the Yugoslav community. That shows how far blindness can take one, especially when the leaders are blinded by a partial nationalistic interest.

[Question] Could political thought or scientific theory have foreseen that strengthening of nationalism and irredentism in Kosovo? After all, the elements for that have been there for at least a decade.

[Answer] Certainly the elements were there. And it was foreseen. Tito and Kardelj specifically pointed to this. What an injustice it is that they are not alive today so that they might substantiate once again what they were cautioning about for such a long time. Kardelj was visionary in foreseeing the course of these events and cautioned that the orientation in Kosovo, above all in development policy, was not a good one, that Kosovo had to be included in the Yugoslav division of labor and that the creation of an industrial working class had to be facilitated as a social force that would carry socialist self-management on its back. However, most of the resources for Kosovo's development were used for other purposes.

[Question] Kardelj also spoke about some other things?

[Answer] He spoke about the unsuccessful orientation toward the chemical industry, which was abandoned, and then also the outsized ambitions in higher education. He told them what would happen. He warned that they had developed a university which was the third largest in Yugoslavia, that they were pushing the humanistic sciences most of all, that the problem of creating jobs would be raised. And so you get nationalism! The bureaucratic elite, nevertheless, played the coquette with precisely that portion of the so-called humanistic intelligentsia, since the bureaucracy was surrounded by power, but had no wit, and entered into an alliance with that portion of the humanistic intelligentsia and obtained from it that which strengthens nationalistic romanticism, that which revives the ghost of the past and that which activates everything in the arsenal of the bourgeois attitude toward the nationalities and toward manipulation with the nationalities. This is a law of bureaucracy, so that it applies to this one here as well.

How To Break Down the Bureaucracy

[Question] Who or what is actually in power today? Everyone is fighting against bureaucracy (especially the bureaucrats!), but it is growing! To what extent is bureaucracy opposed to the interests of consensus?

[Answer] We can never do harm to the bureaucracy by speaking against it. We must penetrate the material foundations from which it arises, and in our context that means statism. Our statism has grown a great deal in decentralized forms over the last 10 years or so. It is enough to remember that we have never had a stronger bureaucracy than now with respect to its impact on public decisions, its quantitative spread, or its methods, style, procedure and manners. And that is because we came to a halt with self-management precisely during that period. Bureaucracy has risen up in a production relation which

was entrenched in expanded reproduction. Before the decentralization of federal statism we had extended self-management over the sphere of simple reproduction, live labor, and necessary labor, but the surplus value of labor, past labor, that remained outside the range of self-management, outside the range of the working class. It is on that that the administrative and bureaucratic stratum, the strength of the bureaucracy, grew up. If, accordingly, we wish to fight against it, it is not a question of making loud noises about whether it is a good thing or not, but of shifting the balance in production relations, which means moving self-management from simple reproduction to expanded reproduction and bringing about shifts within expanded reproduction itself.

[Question] Some people say that the reason that is the case is because self-management is in crisis.

[Answer] But, I ask you, is it possible for what does not exist to be in crisis? Of course it is not! So, it is not self-management that is in crisis, what is in crisis today is our sphere of expanded reproduction, which has not been reached by self-management. So, it is not self-management that is in crisis, what is in crisis is what has regulated and made that sphere possible, that is, republic statism, provincial statism, opstina statism, SIZ [self-managing community of interest] statism, OUR [organization of associated labor] statism.... It is statism that is in crisis, and the forms of that crisis are in the accounts which we have obtained through inflation, and everything at present now indicates to us that we can get out of that crisis only if that sphere becomes a sphere of associated labor, that is, a sphere of self-management. Before us, then is the moment of self-management, and not its crisis!

[Question] How is bureaucratic statism to be broken down?

[Answer] Someone once said: A bureaucrat is like a man who has eaten garlic, and if he cannot smell himself, he thinks that no one else can either! He will smell that "odor" only when the material basis which is reproducing him begins to change against him. Today we are in a situation when not only does the idea tend toward realization, but also when realization must necessarily tend toward the idea! And I call that the crowning moment of self-management, its penetration into expanded reproduction. It is a matter of course that such changes of direction are not possible in society without convulsions and ruptures. This is the well-known transition from quantity into quality. It is like a woman's labor pains. So, our difficulties are not because of self-management, but because of self-management's underdevelopment. And what statism and that decentralized statism were able to offer over the last 10 years or so, it has done so, it has seen, and there is nothing any longer to see. The same thing is true today in the overripe bourgeois societies; the bourgeois has nothing more to offer except force and tyranny. Nor has the bureaucracy anything else to offer.

[Question] There are many examples of a failure of the republics and provinces to reach agreement. Where does that lead?

[Answer] It is certain that the conclusion of agreements by the republics and provinces has gone to the top of the list of topics on the current political

scene and in the interest of the public, and this is once again because of our public's sensitivity to consensus, to its prospects and its future. However, even the conclusion of agreements should not be viewed as a separate phenomenon. This problem, which can be called a problem of relations within our Federation, can be broken down and examined only in the context of overall relations in society. That is, when today we discuss this we often resemble people who accuse the mirror for not presenting a pretty picture! It is not a question of whether the conclusion of agreements has been successful or unsuccessful, but of the kind of relations that are created in the entirety of social reproduction; do those relations favor the conclusion of agreement, or do they stand in its way? It is quite certain that the conclusion of agreements at the federal level among the republics and provinces in establishing the common interest will always be successful when the conclusion of agreements penetrates all segments of society as the method and relationship that is practiced in society. When that method of agreement--from the work organization, the opstina, the province, the republic, through the operation of the delegate system and democratic reconciliation of interests and exchange of labor--takes on life, then that process at the federal level will only be the final act of a democratic process of self-management in society as a whole. This will happen only when associated labor, socialist self-management, and the working class penetrate the sphere of expanded reproduction, when associated labor and self-management take command over the surplus value of labor. Then they will have something to pool. But today they have nothing to pool, since this is being done instead of them by the banks and linkups of alienated monopolies. Thus associated labor is broken up into little parcels today.

Where is the disagreement now? It is actually greatest at the federal level among the republics and provinces over material issues, and those are all material issues concerning the alienated surplus value of labor, and it is the alienated power centers which are debating those issues.

[Question] How do you interpret the tendencies toward confederation of the League of Communists, the virtual existence of eight parties?

[Answer] The answer is a very simple one. Partial interests, be they those of the OUR, the SIZ, the commune, the province or the republic gained strength on that statist production relation which was decentralized.... When a tendency emerged in the League of Communists to slide off the lasting historic interest of the working class, then it was inevitable that the League of Communists itself should become fragmented as an organization. That is a consequence of relations of that kind in society. When the League of Communists takes up the fight for partial interests, when it becomes an ally of such inerests, it no longer has clear bearings and forgets what Marx said in the Manifesto: "The communists have no interests separate and apart from those of the proletariat as a whole." Consequently, this dilemma about the League of Communists automatically falls away for us at the moment when we resolve the basic problem in production relations and create the material foundation for integration and social influence of associated labor in the direction of overcoming the class division of labor.

[Italicized excerpt from the interview]

Concerning the News Media: "Do Not Be Taken in By Bureaucratic Sensitivity"

"The thesis of the sensitiveness of the moment, which is mentioned in discussions concerning the press, is actually a bureaucratic sensitivity. Who is sensitive, to what is he sensitive? If it is a question of truths, if truths are bitter, they are not bitter for the worker, but for the bureaucrat.

"This does not mean, of course, that the news media cannot be criticized and there is nothing to criticize them for. In criticism of the press, however, my point of departure would be that the press dare not be taken in by that bureaucratic sensitivity, just as it should not be taken in by petty bourgeois curiosity, but should be aimed at clearing the way for revolutionary self-managing action. This means that it reveals the contradictions in society, since behind every phenomenon, behind every idea, behind every position, whoever holds it, there stands some interest. That has to be exposed. Then it will be easier to choose sides in the struggle.

"The news media are a factor important to our consensus as a community. These divisions into these media and those media, into 'ours' and 'yours,' are nonsensical. We have two 'troublesome' currents--bureaucratic and liberalistic, and this is automatically carried over into the news media. Statism in the news media, that is the ugliest; it leads to statist obedience, and that means making the news media uninteresting. They thus become the means of disinformation rather than information. It is also dangerous to latch onto the wave of the petty bourgeois reaction to bureaucracy and statism, which then is nothing other than blinded liberalism, which in the final analysis leads to the same thing. We must therefore get beyond both of them, since the truths are in the middle, and that truth is the interest of the working class, and it is contained in socialist self-management. It has been well-said by someone, I think it was Jozo Smole, that the news media should not listen to any particular forum. They should critically examine even the forum, but in so doing they should adhere to the program of the LCY, and they should understand it...."

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OFFICIALS' ENTITLEMENT TO PAY AFTER TERMS EXPIRE NOTED

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1623, 7 Feb 82 pp 12-14

[Article by Svetislav Spasojevic: "Individuals of Particular Interest"]

[Text] It is impossible, at least for newspapers and newsmen, to obtain the precise figure of so-called "functionaries" whose term of office has expired and yet have retained their privileged status. Yet one thing is quite certain: at the end of this 4-year term there are incomparably fewer of them than when it began 4 years ago. This also means that the number of "beneficiaries of privileges for services rendered society" will be far greater in a few months, when the new term begins, than now.

In late November of last year this newsman had a very long conversation with Janez Lukac, secretary general of the SFRY Assembly. On that occasion Lukac told us that the payroll of the Yugoslav Assembly contained only 11 names of former officials. This right, though it would be far more correct to call it a legalized privilege, was enjoyed by 72 persons at the end of the term in 1978, and by 46 delegates and officials 1 year later. Today, as we have already noted, there are only 11 of them.

The situation is the same or similar at all levels, from the Federation to the opstina. Which accounts for the desire of certain responsible people to establish once again exactly what an officeholder is, on this occasion from the opstina to the Federation. How many of them are there? There are cases in opstinas, for example, and even in certain work organizations where the provisions of the constitution and law are interpreted arbitrarily and the number of officeholders broadened by virtue of that kind of interpretation. The contradictory opinions in interpreting the word "officeholder" are beyond reckoning. Yet there are no such dilemmas in the constitution and the Law on Associated Labor. These two basic legal acts, then, are to some extent being circumvented.

Opstina Concern

Let us start, first, with the right to what is referred to as the "official's salary" after the term of office has expired. Federal and republic laws and opstina decisions have precisely defined the conditions under which delegates holding staff positions in the Yugoslav Assembly and republic and opstina assemblies, as well as elected and appointed officials may receive personal incomes even after they have left those positions.

To illustrate how the provisions and salaries of former officials are applied we visited the Cukarica Opstina Assembly in Belgrade. There is nothing in particular to distinguish this opstina from others in the city and in SR [Socialist Republic] Serbia, so that it perhaps should be taken as a typical example. Back in 1976 the Decision on Personal Incomes and Compensation of Personal Incomes and Expenses of Delegates and Officials Elected and Appointed by the Cukarica Opstina Assembly was adopted; it was patterned after a federal law. Article 2 of that decision enumerated all the positions of officials: the opstina president and vice president, the executive council chairman and vice chairman, the secretary of the assembly, the members of the executive council employed in the executive council fulltime, and the heads of the secretariats or opstina organizations--the public revenue service and territorial defense staff, the opstina attorney general, the public defender of self-management law for Cukarica, Rakovica and Obrenovac Opstinas, the deputy public defender of self-management law for Cukarica, Rakovica and Obrenovac Opstinas, and the coordinating judge for misdemeanors.

In Cukarica, if one counts only the opstina assembly and does not include other sociopolitical organizations, there are some 15 officials who may among other things exercise the right to receive personal incomes after expiration of their term of office.

This decision, we were told by Selimir Pasic, secretary of Cukarica Opstina Assembly, was amended in 1979. Today a former officeholder may receive personal income up to a maximum of 6 months. This experienced lawyer adds that he knows of only two officials who have taken advantage of the provisions of that decision. These were the chairman and vice chairman of the Executive Council of Cukarica Opstina Assembly in the previous convocation.

We told him that one of the delegates in a recent session of all three chambers of the opstina assembly had asked the chair what was the situation with the schooling or granting of scholarships to former top officials in the League of Communists and trade unions in Cukarica and that the opstina president said in answer to that delegate that their opstina was rich enough to be able to set aside money to send all its former officials to school.

"Comrade president did not make exactly the response you say," the pedantic Pasic added. "To tell the truth, the president was not exactly up on that matter. I had to make the response. You know how we lawyers are, we know how to talk a lot without saying anything."

Pasic then spoke to us at length about the difficulties of people who hold public office. How their earnings, for example, are lower than those in business, how he earns only a bit more than 20,000 dinars a month and how educated and able people will decide increasingly rarely and with ever greater difficulty to accept public office.

"So, you see, you certainly cannot imagine the kind and extent of the fear that prevailed at the end of the old term and the beginning of the new term in front of us," secretary Pasic said. "Where is a man to go, I ask you, where? It is a hard way to make a living, holding public office I mean...."

At the end Pasic, our nimble-witted opstina secretary, answered affirmatively the question of whether all the public offices were filled. No one, then, has been afraid of the difficulties the secretary had been speaking to us about.

Fear of the End of the Term of Office

Nedeljko Boskovic, who is at present secretary of the LC [League of Communists] opstina committee in Cukarica, was previously a worker in the Ivo Lola Ribar factory. We have had occasion to hear from his workmates in the same shop that Boskovic was one of the best workers in the factory at Zeleznik. In the meantime he has held the post of secretary in the opstina committee, has completed 1 year of school in Kumrovec, and has received a fine new apartment.... He told us that there was nothing strange about the fact that some people who were former officials were receiving personal income and not working, but attending school. "It is a good thing," he added, "to have as many trusted, but also educated, personnel as possible.

"We are not all exactly the same," Boskovic told NIN. "Some, for example, were seized with panic about where they would go after their term of office. I am not afraid of that. I am convinced that I will not allow myself to receive personal income when I am without a position. I stopped by the factory and told them to condition and prepare my old machine. That would be just fine, and a good political stroke as well. But if the comrades feel that I have become skillful during this year spent at professional political work and that I am doing a good job, I have nothing against staying on. You know, it also means a diploma from the school in Kumrovec. Why should anyone return where he has come from? I think that it is a normal and human thing for a man to want to get ahead."

It is true that there are fewer and fewer officeholders and delegates receiving personal income even after their term of office has expired. We have shown how this looks at the opstina level through the example of "Red Cukarica" in Belgrade.

From another angle, in SR Serbia that is, there are at the moment 18 former officials receiving personal income. These are 11 officeholders who worked in sociopolitical organizations and 7 former officials in the assembly itself.

We will enumerate all the offices at the republic level which the law lists as those of functionaries.

Under a decision of the Administrative Commission of the Assembly of SR Serbia, only officials holding the following positions in sociopolitical organizations are entitled to personal income after they have left the function which they performed fulltime:

In the Serbian LC Central Committee: the member of the central committee, the chairman and secretary of the Bylaws Commission, the chairmen of commissions and committees, and the vice chairman if the chairman did not devote full time to the position.

In the SAWP Republic Conference: the member of the SAWP republic conference, the chairman of the conference of the social position and activity of women and chairmen of working bodies (sections, commissions, committees, etc.).

In the Council of the Federation of Serbian Trade Unions: the member of the Presidium, the chairman, vice chairman and secretary of the republic council, and the chairman of the republic trade union committee.

In the republic committee of SUBNOR [Federation of Associations of Veterans of the National Liberation War]: chairman, vice chairman and secretary, as well as the member of the presidium of the republic committee of SUBNOR.

The rights of opstina officials differ from the privileges of people holding office at the republic or federal level. The relationship between republic and federal leaders, that is, with respect to their more favorable status, is quite another matter. By contrast with the differences between the opstina and the regional republic, the differences here are almost negligible.

Confession of a Privileged Individual

The rights set forth in the federal law also apply to republic officials. All those appointed in the Assembly of SR Serbia are entitled to receive personal income for 1 year after they leave the post which they have held fulltime. This right is extended to 3 years for officials who have held paid elective office for more than 12 years. For those who have held the highest positions in the republic fulltime for two decades, the right to receive personal income after expiration of the term of office is lengthy--6 years. This applies exclusively to the highest officials in the Assembly of SR Serbia, the Serbian LC Central Committee, the republic council of the Federation of Trade Unions, the republic committee of SUBNOR.... These rights are not enjoyed by officials of the Economic Chamber or the Socialist Youth League, we were told by Zivorad Yakovljevic, chairman of the Administrative Commission of the Assembly of SR Serbia.

The rights which last 1 year, 3 years or 6 years also apply, according to Janez Lukac, to officials at the federal level. That is, federal and republic (as far as SR Serbia is concerned) officials whose term of office has expired are on a par with one another with respect to receiving personal income.

"In a bit less than 3 months it will be exactly 3 years that I have been on 'waiting status.' Please do not mention my name. I will be retiring very soon,

and I would not like certain of my acquaintances to learn that I am at this point, at the end of my working life, on 'waiting status.' I see that you want to criticize that law under which I and certain of my friends are receiving personal income though we no longer occupy the positions we held for years, positions in which we did work. I was in the war, you know, and after that I did political work. Perhaps in the interval I did not keep up with the times, though I am not altogether certain of that. Go back to my original job? Well, that would be ridiculous. I did that job of mine more than 40 years ago. Those times and that job are already a thing of the past. I would only like to tell you that it has been harder for me to be on 'waiting status' than it would have been if someone had called me once again to take up a gun and go into the woods."

So, we are not publishing that man's name.

Quite often a man is inclined to chase what is in front of him than to turn toward the person keeping pace with him. Are we, then, all going to become officials? The answer to that question is contained in a paper written by Momcilo Milovanovic, federal public defender of self-management law. The observation that "a tendency has emerged in society toward rapid expansion of the number of privileged people or people who have secured themselves separate treatment" led that specialist to prepare a paper on that phenomenon and to send it to the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee, the SFRY State Presidency, the Council of the Federation of Yugoslav Trade Unions, and to the Constitutional Court.

Ministers Without Ministries

In the multitude of various federations, communities of interest, and associations, various leagues and banks, and that from the opstina to the federal level, there are more and more employed persons whose job is put in the category "of particular public interest" in such a way that the distribution of income and conditions for social service expenditure applied to them are quite different from the "rest of the world" in those communities. Momcilo Milovanovic, federal public defender of self-management law, has directed his attention to only a small number of federal organizations and communities. Among others on that list are the Economic Chamber of Yugoslavia, in which there are 60 persons employed who have what we might loosely call "ministerial status," and then the Community of the Yugoslav Electric Power Industry (JUGEL), in which there are precisely 52 privileged members or people with special powers, and after those 2 associations come the Community of Yugoslav Railroads, with only 28 "people of particular interest...."

It is certain that the Law on Associated Labor and SFRY Constitution do allow for the possibility of a specific law to allow regulation of employment in certain activities of particular public interest, but not in such a way that those individuals acquire a different status in associated labor. Unfortunately, in many self-managing organizations and communities the delegate assemblies adopt specific decisions which accord to a certain number of persons a personal income that does not come under the principle of distribution according to labor. This is an imitation or copying of social compacts on the earnings of officials

at the federal level. Thus almost month by month the number of "unauthorized federal or republic officials" is increasing ... why, then, should we be surprised at the decision of any opstina assembly when it wants to increase the number of positions accorded this status? After all, to repeat: a man is more often inclined to chase what is ahead of him than to turn toward the person who is keeping pace with him.

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CAUSES OF REPUBLICS', PROVINCES' AUTARKIC STANCE NOTED

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1622, 31 Jan 82 pp 15, 17-18

[Article by Dr Borisav Jovic: "Why They Shut Themselves Off"]

[Text] The strong tendency toward economic disintegration of the country and toward a closing off of the economy within the republics and autonomous provinces has led to serious difficulties in the functioning of the unified Yugoslav market. This is in conflict both with the SFRY Constitution and with economic logic. It is in conflict with the constitution because it clearly states that the Yugoslav market is unified and that any act to set up barriers within it are unconstitutional. It is in conflict with economic logic because a larger market is conducive to more efficient production, since it affords larger production runs, lower production costs and therefore larger income.

When any tendency persists so long and so stubbornly regardless of the goals of society, it unfailingly deserves the attention of scholars and specialists. An answer must be given as to the causes of these developments. Nor is anything to be explained by the mere fact of existence of the republics and provinces, since their existence nor indeed their economic sovereignty should not have been turned against the SFRY Constitution nor against economic laws and elementary economic logic.

It is well known and recognized both in economics and in general that income is the principal motivational factor in our socioeconomic context. That is why economic behavior must be analyzed first of all from the standpoint of income, i.e., analyzed as to whether that behavior is aimed at creating (more precisely: realizing) larger income.

Each in His Own Bailiwick

The usual point of departure is that investments will be made where larger income is to be realized and that this is in the interest both of the work organization (which has capital and is making a decision on investing it) and in the interests of its sociopolitical community. It is assumed that the work organization gives the same treatment to income to be realized in another work organization (by pooling labor and capital) as that which is to be realized within its own organization and that accordingly its sociopolitical community

(opstina, republic or province) will be equally interested in income realized through that pooling on the territory of another sociopolitical community as it is in income realized within its own jurisdiction. A second premise follows from that first one: that income is maximized through the pooling of labor and capital both for the work organization which has made an investment on the territory of another sociopolitical community and also for its opstina and republic or province.

These premises, however, have been refuted in reality. Work organizations prefer to invest within their own organization, and sociopolitical communities strive for social capital, insofar as it is possible, not to cross their borders. On the contrary, if it is possible, they want to see it flow in from other jurisdictions into their own.

When an investment is made within the work organization or within the sociopolitical community the entire newly created income (personal incomes, contributions, social service appropriations, capital surplus and reserves) is available for distribution, while an investment in other work organizations yields only a portion of the capital formed for disposition (formally indicated as a portion of income). It is well known that capital formation as a whole is relatively small as compared to total income, and that portion which can be counted on is particularly small. It is quite clear that the portion of capital formed is not capable as a motivational factor of outweighing the motivation based on the entirety of the newly created value, that is, income.

The reasons for this are not exclusively quantitative in nature; that is, it is not just a question of income being far larger than accumulation, much less a part of that accumulation. It is a question of the economic reality that there is a shortage of accumulation, while at the same time we have a surplus of manpower, that is, unemployment. Under the conditions when it is difficult to achieve accumulation and still more difficult to solve the problems of social welfare within one's jurisdiction, preference is given to one's own development and to creating jobs for one's own population rather than elsewhere. Not only is the "shirt closer than the sheepskin," but, as is evident, this brings greater material benefit both to the sociopolitical community and to the organization of associated labor.

Nothing much can be explained by the fact that the portion of accumulation realized through joint investment in another work organization augments the income of the work organization which invested the resources and that it can be divided up like any other income. The fact remains that that augmentation is marginal, small. Investments within the same sociopolitical community, above all the opstina, on the other hand, make it possible for the organization of associated labor to relieve itself of numerous burdens: from the pressure for economically unwise employment in the work organization to the burden of paying contributions for social services and government administration, since the newly hired workers will take this up in part. Investment of one's own accumulation in other organizations of associated labor and in the jurisdiction of other sociopolitical communities is done only in cases of great economic dependence (which usually borders on blackmail) for the supply of raw materials, industrial supplies and energy, and, recently, for foreign exchange as well. In

this case the motivational factor is once again the creation of conditions to augment income within one's own organization, since investment in those activities can yield little accumulation. However, these investments, aside from the fact that they are extorted, are marginal in size.

All Interests Pivot Around the Nationality ...

One could hardly say that anyone is working against economic logic from his own respective position. Work organizations and sociopolitical communities are behaving economically from their own viewpoint. Unfortunately, on the scale of the entire society this often results in uncoordinated development and thereby a decline of the qualitative results of economic activity and the tendency to ward off competition through exclusiveness. The consequences of the uncoordinated economic development are manifested in the high inflation, in the drop in the standard of living, in the falling off economic growth and in the danger of interruption of the flow of the normal and continuous process of reproduction. The breaking up of the unified Yugoslav market is one of the consequences of that kind of development.

There is good reason to ask if everyone's behavior is logical and optimal from his own respective viewpoint and whether an overall social optimality is nevertheless being achieved?

We have noted that there is at least an indirect economic motivation to invest in other work organizations on which there is a dependence in the process of reproduction. At the same time we can note that profound disproportions are taking place in economic development, above all between the heavy industries we have mentioned, on the one hand, and manufacturing industries on the other. On that basis we can note that investment on the basis of the regional (republic and provincial) interests has prevailed over the interests of organizations of associated labor to solve their long-term supply problems and thereby the country's structural problems.

If we are to grasp and understand this, we need to grasp and understand the overwhelming economic and social power represented by the republic or province (and sometimes even the opstinas) from the standpoint of organizations of associated labor, that is, the extent to which the latter have a dependence status. Let us point out immediately that this is not on the basis of the constitution, but on the basis of reality, which differs from the constitution in many respects.

Let us start with the way in which prices are set. Instead of decisions on prices being made by the working people producing the goods on the basis of mutual dependence in the process of reproduction and on the basis of the economic effect of supply and demand on the market, decisions on prices are by and large made by sociopolitical communities. It is they in fact who divide up income. The republic fights to have the prices of goods produced within its jurisdiction as high as possible, especially if they are sold throughout Yugoslavia. Not only does this augment the income of the republic (province), but it places the work organization in a position of direct dependence on the goodwill and commitment of its own republic (province).

Nor is the situation any better in decisions on foreign exchange. Instead of the decisions on allocation of foreign exchange being made by the working people from the organization of associated labor in the framework of its self-managing community of interest and those decisions undergoing mutual reconciliation in the undivided space of Yugoslavia, the republics and provinces have taken over the decisive role in this area. Through the so-called payments-balance positions of the republics and provinces they have formalized the role of the economy to such an extent that virtually every work organization has been placed in a position of greater dependence on the republic or provincial government than on its own export performance. It has been taken to the point where the republic and province not only decide whether an import permit is to be obtained, but also how much foreign exchange will be paid, that is, what incentives will be given for exports, all of this operating within each republic and province separately, with no overall coordination.

And we have not even spoken about fiscal policy, where the constitutional powers of the republics and provinces are very great, nor about expanded reproduction, where only they have the constitutional power to reallocate and rechannel accumulation (if the conclusion of self-management accords has not been successful). The fate of many work organizations depends on how much will be taken away from them and how much given to them. If we add to that that the republics and provinces make the decisions to a large extent on covering losses, on the payment of personal incomes even when there is not sufficient income, and on the channeling of credit, and that they even have a direct impact on personnel policy and make decisions on individuals, then it can be fairly clear that organizations of associated labor depend very greatly on their respective sociopolitical communities, since the latters' economic power is enormous, granted in part by the constitution, in part expanded at the expense of the power of the organizations of associated labor, and in part at the expense of agreements concluded on the scale of Yugoslavia as a whole. The extent of all this is something that still has to be studied and analyzed, but these are the circumstances in which we live.

What Sort of Changes?

The first step, indispensable if these processes are to be halted at least to some extent, is certainly to return to the constitutional arrangements concerning the role of the workers in associated labor in the process of expanded reproduction. This can be achieved first of all by reducing the power of the republics and provinces (and of the opstinas as well) to what they are entitled under the constitution and likewise by strengthening the elements of community consensus in economic development, which is achieved by agreements among the republics and provinces concerning the social plan of Yugoslavia and concerning joint economic policy. In this sense it would also be necessary to revise and correct many laws and regulations from that viewpoint.

Alongside this there is a need to think as well about the soundness of certain practical mechanisms in the system from the standpoint of their creating a motivational force in the direction of forms of behavior at present which are "regionally optimum," but unwise from the standpoint of society as a whole. Since objectively income is the principal motivational force for behavior and

decisions on investment, and, as is evident, a very small portion of income is set aside for the investor of resources, it would be good to check out the possibility of a change which would establish a better balance of interest. First of all, it seems that the greatest problem is that nearly the entire expenditure for social services is bound up with personal incomes. From the standpoint of the motivation for making investments outside the collective and outside the respective sociopolitical community, it would be good if contributions for social service expenditure were not tied to such a great extent to personal incomes, but rather a portion of them tied to income. That would create the opportunity for the one pooling his resources to have a larger share in the income realized. Nor is it precluded that there might be some other similar change aimed at the same goal. It is difficult to state whether this would have a decisive impact in strengthening investment motivation, but certainly it would have a certain gravitational effect.

Finally, the need for a more effective self-management resolution of two major issues cannot be evaded: the division of labor on the unified Yugoslav market and concentration of resources on development of capital-intensive activities. It is a mistake to think that these matters should be left to spontaneity or that self-management cannot resolve them in a conscious and organized way.

The social nature of resources makes it a necessity that there be social standards governing their use. Unless the necessary changes are undertaken, exclusiveness toward the rest of the world and within the republics and provinces will be stronger and stronger and the consequences, both economic and also political, increasingly serious.

We can say by way of summary that the roots of the autarkic behavior of the republics and provinces lie in the economic motivation which follows from the present socioeconomic relations, and above all from certain practical arrangements in the economic system. The problem is a very complex one, and cannot be overcome quickly, among other things because the kind of economic structure already formed in the republics and provinces imposes a certain kind of behavior. Nevertheless, a more comprehensive approach might open up prospects for a way out of the process of disintegration of the Yugoslav economy. The basic elements of that approach might encompass the following:

First, revision of all the laws which contrary to the SFRY Constitution have augmented the rights of sociopolitical communities, above all the republics and provinces, at the expense of the constitutional rights of organizations of associated labor and a return to organizations of associated labor of all the rights and responsibilities taken away from them.

Second, a bolstering of the element of community consensus in the economy of Yugoslavia by according greater importance and content to the conclusion of agreements among the republics and provinces concerning the social plan of Yugoslavia and concerning joint economic policy; enhancement of the effectiveness of measures to implement the economic policy agreed on.

Third, the discovery of and agreement on a solution concerning division of labor on the unified Yugoslav market, at least for the most significant types of

production whose parallel organization in more than one republic or province is economically nonsensical.

Fourth, amendment of the system to regulate the responsibility of organizations of associated labor to make investments in the parallel development of those capacities on whose production the development of the respective work organization depends. No one ought to have the right to build new production capacities without at the same time making investments for a proportionate growth of production of energy, raw materials and other supplies and the like necessary for the functioning of his newly designed facilities.

Fifth, a study should be made of the possibility of enhancing economic motivation to make investments in other work organizations and within other sociopolitical communities on the basis of income sharing by shifting the base of the contribution or in some other manner.

Were this kind of broad spectrum of public actions and measures put into effect, something might be achieved over the long run. Over the short run we will certainly have to bear the burden of the reality of the economic structure that is in place and within whose framework every organization and every capacity naturally desires not only to live, but also to develop further, and thereby to reproduce its present unfavorable condition. We must anticipate resistance to such a course. That resistance arises out of the significance of the changes which would be necessary, both on the part of those whose erroneous behavior is to be corrected and also on the part of those whose power is to be diminished.

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JOVICIC INTERVIEWED ON IDEALS, HISTORICAL HERITAGE

Belgrade ZUM REPORTER in Serbo-Croatian No 807, 7 Jan 82 pp 29-33

[Interview with Vladimir Jovicic, chairman of the commission for ideological activity of the League of Communists in culture of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Serbia, by Boro Krivokapic, in Belgrade: "Worn-Out Idols"; date not specified]

[Text] The eighth floor is where we get off. Central Committee.

Serbia occupies the floors up to the 10th. Yugoslavia begins on the 11th.

Vladimir Jovicic speaks without "prepared notes." By and large he expounds clearly what he wishes to say and rather skillfully avoids what he does not. He does this in a language one can understand.

In making cuts in this text, many of them, I also admitted one answer. But the question still bothers me:

As though each nationality keeps in reserve--for the times when nationalism is being combated--its own all-star team of "typical nationalists"? For years the same people have always been on that team, as though this was a post they held in the government? People who are constantly being resurrected once again for the old needs of new fighters against nationalism?

A subsequent remark is related to this:

"We will have to 'lop the pinnacles' off certain...."

We have lopped them off. Pinnacles, pinnacles....

Krivokapic: How do you look upon the system of social values, here and now? Has the institution of moral recognition been lost? Can everything be measured and evaluated exclusively in terms of money?

Jovicic: That is an important social barometer, since every society establishes its own scale of values, the one which legitimizes it in historical terms....

Krivokapic: Is that principle being implemented?

Jovicic: It is being implemented with terrific pains and resistance, like everything that is truly revolutionary. Even though one should not harbor an illusion that one can quickly and easily bring into being a system of values based on work, the critical observation needs to be made that in practice we encounter departures, sometimes even of such nature and of such degree that they cause confusion, and they give the lie to its standards and its scale of values. It is clear by the nature of things that these are above all ideological matters.

Krivokapic: Nevertheless, the departures are obvious?

Jovicic: Though I do not think that all the blame should be put on the market, there is still room for spontaneity on the market. But let us not forget, that is at the same time the space for weaving the bureaucratic nest. Both the market and the bureaucracy have their own inclinations which cannot by any means be squared with this society's system of values.

The market, that conventional market, wants business advertising and cultural propaganda for goods which come close to being an apology for the goods as such. In and of itself it would never renounce the system of market conditions on behalf of the system of values, when there is a conflict. It is for that reason not only possible, but in the market sense even natural for certain banalities and petty bourgeois values, say, to maintain themselves at a high price in the "cultural marketplace." Contrary to this society's system of values, long-worn-out idols are still bought and sold here, and at the same time new ones which are equally false and worthless are also being produced and traded.

It is important to state, especially for the sake of young people whose critical sense is not always mature, that no one is truly satisfied when the taste they have is catered to, when the existing spiritual needs are targeted and fed, nor especially when false ones are evoked. What is more, what is most important for every man--belief in the attainability of values worthy of enjoyment--is also crippled.

A General Psychology of Plunder

Krivokapic: If we reward a work of art not only with money, but also with forms of idolatry, if in actuality the conditions are such that "values" of this kind obtain a high price on the market and in society, then certain authentic values for which the proclaimed policy is responsible are inevitably in jeopardy? At the same time certain forms of public recognition, which were a public substitute for the pecuniary factor, have also undergone a process of devaluation. Hasn't this widened still more the gap in the value system?

Jovicic: A hungry man overeats. And until yesterday we ate cornbread. And we are still poor, we still have not come close to satisfying the hunger for material goods. And even if we had, it is certain that that hunger would still plague us, just as an invalid is unable to escape the itching in a leg that has been long since amputated. Even without such a legacy, it is not easy to maintain moderation in the pursuit of material goods, to draw the line up to which

things serve man and beyond which man serves them. This is the context in which one can speak in terms of Marx' proposition: to have or to be.

When someone deserves it, my feeling is expressed in the folksaying: take off your hat and be generous. The son of Blagoje, the coppersmith in Lazarevic's short story "The People Will Guild Over All That," did not fail to receive the gold of fine words, but he would have liked to have had something, as it is put in the story, "to put in his mouth as well."

Krivopakic: Hand in hand with the other extremes, there is yet another that almost seems to be raging: a general psychology of greed. We behave as though no one will be here tomorrow....

Jovicic: Whether we call it greed or "overheated" demand--it is all the same, the fact is simply that we are spending more than we are really earning.

We truly know how to squander money, I am thinking both of individuals and of the entire community, and yet be left without what we need. Which is not to mention such very important and expensive items as what we refer to as duplicate facilities, I might mention only the numerous gala festivals, the still more numerous hoaxes in the form of symposiums and conferences, study trips and exchange of delegations without any sort of need or purpose. And yet in some places there are two to a bed in the hospital.

It Goes Much Easier With Unhappiness

Krivokapic: To what extent have the privileges of the representative structure of society, not only political, but also cultural, plotted that road? All the way to "vacillating practice"?

Jovicic: I am afraid that neither you nor I, in the role of selecting that all-star team, has sufficiently firm criteria for its membership, and still less do we have proof as to its privileges. Let us suppose, if it is not immodest, that even I might be taken into consideration at least for a broader selection of one such all-star team, and then I can tell you that that is an all-star team with less privileges than most others--not to mention the all-star soccer team. It would be wonderful if the vacillations with respect to our system of values were only the reflexes in the behavior of a relatively small stratum.

Examples usually narrow and vulgarize phenomena, but on the other hand they make them vivid. Many private farmers have not yet managed to buy even the most necessary machines for tilling the soil, nor a good portion of household appliances, but they are building such expensive fences around their houses that there is no other way to explain it except by the utter and overriding desire for "prestige." Is it not true that a great many workers, especially those returning from abroad, have instead of comfortable homes built massive ugly houses with the obvious intention of impressing the neighborhood? And there are even those who build themselves monumental tombs and tombstones as though to finally resolve their housing problem in the other world because they were unable to do so in this world.

Krivokapic: This is the exterior, the visible...?

Jovicic: All this that is seen on the outside is in a way on the inside as well, within people, in their consciousness, it is all a fruit of their system of values, which was established who knows when and how. Processes of this kind can be guided, and even catalyzed, but they must not be skipped over. All attempts to drive intelligence and taste into a man's head, to make him happy by summary procedure, have failed the test of history one after the other. Things have been much easier with unhappiness. There is a saying in Vuk [Karadzic] that is always up to date: "Perhaps you can take something from me by force, but you cannot give me anything by force!"

Krivokapic: What is the price of the gap between the scale of values set up in principle and actual practice?

Jovicic: The individual's withdrawal into the confines of privacy, his confinement to narrow and selfish ideals and goals. An undermining, then, of the basic value: the human sense of community in equality and freedom.

The system of socialist self-management cannot be carried out or maintained within closed circles. It is not important who would be at the center of those circles: the individual, the OUR [organization of associated labor], the opstina or the republic. All-enclosure is by its nature an attack on the system of values of such a society.

Because of such competitors I am unable to escape the impression that there is a certain symbolism in the scene which can frequently be viewed at track meets: the runner breaks the ribbon at the finish line, and then in a convulsion of effort--vomits.... Careerism is sinister even toward the person who has invested his entire self in its mechanisms. The roots of selfishness and vanity run deep.

Stupidities and Great Deeds

Krivokapic: Perhaps in seeking those roots we might get help from one of the last sentences of "Istorija Jugoslavije" [History of Yugoslavia] where Dedijer--in the context of the peasant character of the revolution and the social psychology of the peasantry--writes: "In the conception of the relations of fighters in wartime and in peacetime the old Dinaric tradition emerges whereby the war veteran in peacetime is entitled to enjoy the fruits of his wartime exploits, and in the conceptions of power identifies himself personally with the general social good."

Jovicic: I see nothing wrong in that. On the contrary, the acquisitive feeling, or, more accurately, the sensing of a need for possession--after all, down through all our history we have been more plundered than paid tribute--has become transformed in wars, and that to a considerable extent, into a feeling of patriotism. I also find that it is desirable to identify the personal with the general, insofar, of course, as this is not a sign of self-interest.

Finally, if you like, I vote for the proposition that the warrior who has shed blood for historically unquestionable goals has the moral right to enjoy the fruits of his struggle. To dispute that kind of tradition--and I do not find that it is developed to an exaggerated degree with us--would among other things signify looking a bit idealistically upon the future.

Krivokapic: To dispute a tradition--you have touched upon an issue here that is perhaps a "burning" one, one over which there have been frequent stumblings. We have spent many good years wrestling with that topic. With relative success and with varying consequences. Indeed there has even been stuttering....

Jovicic: Every young society ought to take up as responsibly as possible the unambiguous caution of history that the importance of the legacy cannot by any means be underestimated. Generations and generations have done things even before us on this same planet. They have committed stupidities but also performed great deeds. I place us among the latter. What do we owe them? Not so much to remember them as to obtain critical insight and render the justice of time.

The easiest and the worst is to keep silent. That kind of silence always has an overtone of a coverup. Silence, just like that undisguised glorification in the spirit of the religious precept: "Only good should be said of the dead!" truly equates the past with a dead person. But it is not all dead. Unless a critical attitude is taken toward the legacy, the present proves to some extent to be dead. After all, it shows that it is unable to critically adopt the legacy and supersede it....

Krivokapic: In that way certain major and even fateful historic events are being displaced further and further away and ever deeper. As though that would make them clearer and not still more cloudy? What is the source of the disagreements--is it inevitable?

Jovicic: Until recently World War I was one such event. Even though it is one of the key dates in the more recent history of the Serbian people. Now the myth of the myths and legends are slowly breaking up, and all its faces are coming through. Whoever is interested in the truth will easily distinguish the hero's and martyr's role of the Serbian peasant and Serbian proletarian from the hegemonistic role of the Serbian bourgeoisie.

Krivokapic: In a conversation with Deroko, member of the academy, I heard the story about the grave of Rastko Petrovic in Washington. With undisguised nostalgia for the days they spent together, Deroko asked himself still more sadly: Does a great poet have to be buried abroad? It is true that he had a job in Ljotic's administration. Nor should that be covered up. But is that the only thing that can be said?

Jovicic: First, it needs to be said that we have an inclination to politicize even ordinary negligence. We have people who zealously cover up their laziness with what purports to be political delicacy concerning everything that would be their duty to do, but which they are not doing. Nor are there any fewer of those who even in the dearth of goals at soccer matches find evidence for the restrictiveness of the policy we are conducting.

Living people who held positions in the former regimes have returned to this country, and no one (provided they were not criminals) hindered them from living and working normally. Rastko Petrovic's books are being published, his collected works are coming out, which means that he is living here, and there is no reason whatsoever why he should not be buried here....

Similarity to a Given Model

Krivokapic: All right, negligence: But has it been said in vain that tradition and culture are as though invented for sectarians and sectarian behavior?

Jovicic: The cultural legacy is a broad field for sectarians to vent their emotions, though I could give you as many examples as you like of social concern about the cultural tradition which is not sectarian in the least--to mention only the huge funds allocated every year to protect cultural monuments, the monasteries, for example....

The sectarians have one and only one model: themselves--their ideas, their experiences, their goals.... They will take up the tradition insofar as it suits them, the rest they will reject or distort until it conforms to their models and molds. The cultural legacy is helpless here, how is it to defend itself?

But very often in their attitude toward the past the sectarians are the same ones who would leave the future only to themselves. This line of the sectarian outlook is still more "vicious." The sectarian measures a young man by only one yardstick--Does he resemble him, does he copy him?... The young man has to prove himself by repetition. When the sectarian speaks, say, about the need to bring in new blood, he once again is actually thinking of himself, just a bit younger. In everything that does not fit into his schemes he sees "deviation," heresy, and indeed even treason. That is why sectarianism is incompatible with youth, dangerous for the future, more dangerous than for the past.

Krivokapic: What brings this "association" together?

Jovicic: This is an association of the selfish and the egotistical. They are brought together by fear of everything that is newer, broader, richer, different from their doctrinaire world. The narrower that world, the greater the fear, and the greater the aggressiveness at the same time. I would even go so far as to state that sectarianism concerning the legacy is by and large motivated by a narrow-minded attitude toward the future. Which is why, whenever and wherever it has appeared, in its essence it has been reactionary and baneful for every revolutionary organization. And it is manifested everywhere though it is almost solely in the League of Communists that cautions are issued concerning the danger of turning in upon oneself, of being averse to change, to what has not been tried, of doubt and suspicion toward everything that cannot fit into heads which are so shaped that their tastes and models are forms which are fixed for all time.

Nevertheless, it cannot be said that the League of Communists has definitively defended itself against the manifestations of sectarianism. What else is it to impose the condition of moral and political suitability, and especially to

equate it with membership in the League of Communists, even in competitions for those job vacancies whose nature does not require ideological and political allegiance to our revolutionary movement? The consequences are borne not only by those who are rejected in those competitions, they are also borne to a still greater degree by the League of Communists itself, since it becomes attractive to people willing to represent themselves falsely, to careerists and self-seekers of every kind.

In that way sectarianism broadens its base for reproduction. The protectionist will do everything just in order to avoid competition of real values. He will remove everything, then, which does not [negative supplied by translator] favor this religion of restriction.

Herald of Our Waywardness

Krivokapic: Aside from the classic forms of sectarianism, which means attempts (sometimes indeed successful) to proclaim everything that is distinctive, by some regional automatic mechanism, to be of particular value? Not only nationalism, but also rather confident forms of mediocracy have also marched forth under those banners? And that more of the living than the dead?

Jovicic: Real cultural distinctions usually are something of value. But if they are to become an element of activity and indeed of antagonism, rather than of difference and on that basis mutual equal cooperation and enrichment, then distinctions may be and have been used as boundary markers (local, republic, ethnic,...) and then these easily become stumbling blocks. Only through manipulation can distinctions in culture be used first as critically inviolable trademarks of a community, and then as values incomparable with the corresponding values of another community, and finally as values threatened from outside which have to be defended not only by an apologetic attitude toward them, but also by depracating those of others. As soon as a proprietary attitude begins to be established as the primary attitude toward such cultural distinctions, then we are dealing with culture only in name, while in actuality this is something else, predominantly political.

The settling of political accounts through culture, in which culture gets the worst of it, is not done solely because it is "more elegant" to wage war in the field of culture, but above all because there are much greater opportunities here for demagogy, the enflaming of passions, and everything that has the least right to be called culture.

The Impossibility of Critical Discussion

Krivokapic: Probably it is no accident that the sectarians, as masters of ritual, that is, the dogmatists, usually pass over into nationalism as a unique and specific form of the "law of separation"?

Jovicic: Nationalism is also a potential refuge for other "sects" lost in this historic time, for all individuals, groups and class remnants which are wandering around in search of their identity, personal, class, ideological or what have you. The alienated individual is seeking some kind of god, is seeking

some sort of sanctuary, since he cannot survive on his own. And in that panic search of his he is not, nor can he be, critically discreet. Unwilling to confront the complexity of life, to tackle the problems of his time, the uncertainties of the future, such people bury their head in dogma, call for the firmest and most restrictive standards, give themselves over to religion, to myths, usually to a nationalistic myth, since as a protective capsule it is still rather resistant. But nationalism is also engendered as a reaction to the contesting of ethnic sentiments. Every time a man is hindered in expressing a portion of his identity from the ethnic standpoint he is being pushed into the mire of nationalism.

In the strict political sense the nationalist is a dogmatist by vocation. The hand which today crosses itself on behalf of the nationality would show itself tomorrow to be an "iron hand."

Krivokapic: Alongside nationalism a certain number of people have also sprung up and promoted themselves to be "professional fighters" against nationalism, often even with certain credentials. Are they simply "responsible" for that area? Do they have a bad day if some outburst of nationalism does not "affect" them every morning? They are also people who never get enough of nationalism.

Jovicic: It is not uncommon for someone to seek a place for himself by means of someone else, rather than with someone else, to live off the errors and "errors" of others, to win points by sorting over the oversights and sins of others, and if they are lacking, to plant them. But is that style not inherent also in individuals who are not "profesionally" engaged in nationalism? The witch-hunt, that is probably the only hunt in which there has never been a completely closed season anywhere.

Krivokapic: Experience teaches us that in this respect--with respect to distinctions--language (Serbo-Croatian, or Serbian and Croatian) is more than a reliable messenger and indeed herald of our waywardness.

Jovicic: There are several ways in which language can be this. One of them is to be seen in the granting of all priorities to "distinctive" words, those which are not held in common by all those living in a linguistic area. To that end they dig up localisms, provincialisms, anachronisms, words which life itself has irrecoverably written off and buried.

Why? Certainly not so that we would enrich the language, since a language is not enriched in that way, but so that we would accentuate our differences and use this as a reason for division. This is a policy of violence to language. And every form of violence in language basically carries with it a policy of violence in a certain other sense as well. Likewise to overlook and abolish real linguistic differences is a form of violence aimed at bringing about a union which would not be solely linguistic.

In both cases the meaning of language as a means of understanding and agreement is lost, it is twisted to become a means of achieving nonlinguistic goals.

Are the Lectors [literary and linguistic advisers in publishing houses] To Blame?

Krivokapic: Less and less do we write as we speak. In the foreseeable future we might arrive at the linguistic situation before Vuk [Karadzic]. And then some joker emerges from time to time--who is usually not joking--and he says seriously: the lectors are to blame.

Jovicic: If only the lectors were to blame, but the reasons involved go much deeper than that. Not only do we write differently than the way we speak, but we often speak differently from what we are thinking!

Krivokapic: One need go no further than the nearest meeting.

Jovicic: Often I am unable to recognize even myself. In meetings I speak some language which I do not speak otherwise.

First of all we have equated meetings with action, and then, since very often they are excessively long and empty, we have transformed them into a ritual. Certain rules, certain codes, are established in any ritual. And, of course, language was the first to suffer from that coding. It had to undergo impoverishment and distortion, it was deprived of nourishment, it began to diverge from consciousness, of which it is, according to Marx, the "practical form."

And that is how the impersonalization and depersonalization of language came about. That outcome was also sponsored by something which is also taken for granted not so rarely in meetings--general agreement. But for the ritual to be complete, agreement had to be expressed to the end, not only in content, but also in form, that is, in a manner--with a vocabulary, the same syntactical technique, the same intonation and even the same gesticulation. When someone in a meeting slips and utters a sentence which does not differ in any essential respect from the general opinion, but which in its language jumps out of the ritual circle, it immediately arouses attention (those who have been dozing awake with a start), and thereafter amazement and even a bit of suspicion. For all these reasons a certain sclerosis of language had to come about in meetings.

Krivokapic: You are mistaken: that is indeed a "language"! To speak and write (even) to unconsciousness and not to say anything is a skill which can only be admired!? And it is possible only in that "language." Nonexistent and dead, but indestructible. In my work, for example, that is a characteristic more valuable than gold! So it is no rarity for people to speak without knowing what they are saying, and still less do they believe what they are saying.

Jovicic: No, it is still true that they do not have their language, it is that language which has them. They are alienated from language even when in meetings or in your profession they get their bearings with exceptional "success" in the linguistic ritual, and even then they enjoy it. Since they lack a personality of their own, how could they have their own language?

Krivokapic: Culture is often a cue not only of nationalism, but also of being an area in which nationalism is often and extensively manifested. Even that it is quite suitable for nationalism!?

Jovicic: On several occasions I have already come out in public against such assessments, not because every form of narrow-mindedness and enmity is alien to the essence of culture and art, since in culture and with culture nationalistic manipulations are possible, but because it is stupid to say [licirati] in which domains of public life there is nationalism and in which there is none. As though it were typhus, which allows itself to be confined by a quarantine!

It is true that for a time the field of culture did enjoy the inglorious advantage you speak of. One reason why it probably occurred is that the language of culture is somewhat more explicit and authorized than the language of certain other facts, economic facts, say, which we refer to rather euphemistically: the shutting off of markets, monopolistic behavior, etc. However, when without any sort of economic reasons and sometimes even in spite of them we have to drink exclusively mineral water produced in our own republic or to eat only one kind of sausage, and that because the other kinds are not produced in our region, then that ought to be evaluated in political terms by the same measure that would be used in a library if we were unable to find books printed in the other republics and regions.

This comparison might seem amusing to some, but the manifestations of exclusiveness and regional protectionism in the economy are not only--and in our multinational community, perhaps not even predominantly--economic outbursts. These are manifestations which have to be described in political terms, sometimes referred to even as nationalistic, and why not, since even if they do not come about from those motives, their consequences are in that direction. Then no one would get the idea that culture is a preserve of nationalists.

The Investment Intelligence in the Field of the Superstructure

Krivokapic: Somewhere, in certain foundations, perhaps not always visible to the naked eye, of all these manifestations and deviations we have been talking about (and also those we have not mentioned)--we find the school! It might be a lighthouse in the night, but it also can be a band over the eyes in broad daylight. Yet another reform of education is now under way, and its premises are radical: but there is also resistance in which disputation and interference are mixed.

Jovicic: Essential changes were indispensable, but by no means solely within the limits of the school as an institution.

The procedure used to arrive at the various specific solutions embodying the reform has not always been open enough to the broadest public. In some places everything that had been undertaken in practice was covered with the prestige of the stands adopted by the congress. One might get the impression that the congress even stands behind every schedule and every deadline. That is how the invitation for criticism is created in an inestimably important task in which all interested parties should participate.

Krivokapic: How are the conditions to be created for a young man to make a free choice in the direction of his abilities? How is he to discover them in good time? I have heard of "some" school in Macva; since you are from Macva, you probably know even the details?

Jovicic: At present the only thing I know for sure is that that "new" school, if it is to be accepted by the broader social community at the case held to up to now, will become an "old" school before it gets a roof.

Krivokapic: Why? Certainly there are reasons even here.

Jovicic: The overall investment intelligence in the field of the superstructure has still not embodied the spirit of this society and these times, nor has it authentically expressed the needs and tastes of today's man.

Schools, museums, libraries and galleries are still being built ... to be buildings in and of themselves, although their functions by no means should be an end in themselves.

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